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# ***Daily Report***

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## **Sub-Saharan Africa**

**FBIS-AFR-90-072  
Friday  
13 April 1990**

# Daily Report

## Sub-Saharan Africa

FBIS-AFR-90-072

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13 April 1990

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**\* SADCC Scientists Hold Seminar in Maputo**

90AF0001A Maputo. TEMPO in Portuguese  
3 Mar 90 pp 19-23

[Article by Julio Macaringue]

[Text] Scientists from SADCC [South African Development Coordination Conference] member countries, South Africa, and Uganda met in Maputo from 7 to 12 February to assess the state of plant sciences in the region and seek ways to foster cooperation among themselves. One problem that came up during their deliberations was the question of whether or not the academic boycott against South Africa should be continued. Opinions varied on the issue, and it deserves reconsideration by the government of each SADCC member country.

The importance of plants to human life is very well understood. It is likewise recognized that their rational and cost-effective use requires incentives for plant science education and research. The field embraces several disciplines such as physiology, crop development, and microbiology among others. There are many factors that make the teaching of plant sciences important, according to Dr. Eric Edroma, the Ugandan scientist who heads the African Bio-Science Network. TEMPO conducted a running interview with him throughout the seminar.

"Plants are important for environmental protection and for human and animal life. Secondly, they're important for economic reasons. It is well known that the economy of Sub-Saharan Africa depends in large part on agricultural products (cotton, coffee, sisal...). In the third place, I'd point to their medicinal uses. Seventy percent of Africa's plants and herbs have medicinal uses although not much is known about this subject. Research and incentives for the manufacture of medicines based on plants and herbs would help the continent save financial resources now spent importing pharmaceuticals from outside the region."

Dr. Celeste Mondego, director of the Biology Faculty at Eduardo Mondlane University in Maputo, emphasized another point. "We must increase and improve human nutrition. The population (of the Third World) is growing at a very rapid rate, and this means we must produce food for all these people, and the development of plant science is important for crop improvement."

This clearly points to the importance (and timeliness) of this seminar that attracted scientists from Angola, Uganda, Tanzania, Mozambique, Malawi, Zambia, Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland as well as guests from the Universities of the West Cape, Capetown, Natal, Durban, Westville and the Botanical Institute in South Africa.

**Necessary Cooperation**

Increased cooperation among the scientists of Southern Africa is one of the objectives the meeting sought to attain. Such cooperation will probably develop through the sharing of research information from projects in the different countries, joint use of physical plant—mainly

laboratories and scientific libraries—, and the human resources available at some universities in the region. There could also be faculty and student exchanges for graduate work. Mozambique, Zimbabwe, and Swaziland have already worked out such a plan among themselves, according to Dr. Celeste Mondego.

"For example, we send students from the Biology Faculty here to do field work on jungle animals in Zimbabwe, and others come here for marine research activities. We also get students from Swaziland who come to carry on activities in this field in our country."

Exchanges of university professors among the SADCC countries were also agreed to in order to meet the teaching needs of institutions throughout the region in a timely manner. "If one school lacks a professor in a certain field, it can contact another that has such an instructor and ask that the person be made available as a visiting professor," Dr. Angelina Lamberto explained. As head of the Department of Botany in the Biology Faculty at Eduardo Mondlane University, she was among those taking part in the seminar.

Dr. Eric Edroma, president of the African Bio-Science Network, said Southern Africa must take seriously the need for better organization in the field of plant science instruction and research. "I think organization is lacking in most of our countries. This, he added, was one of the reasons for inviting, if only on an individual (nonofficial) basis, some scientists from South Africa, which is the target of an academic boycott. "And we learned a lot about what they're doing there. They have many universities with good working conditions for plant research. They have lots of financial resources and many scientific journals where they publish the results of their activities. We wanted to know how they're organized so we too can get organized."

The general view among seminar participants was that South Africa has made great strides in research and has the resources to support projects beyond its borders. This raises the question of what South Africa's role in regional plant science education and research might be in the absence of the academic boycott. It poses questions of how this boycott affects South Africa's neighbors and of prospects for a possible selective boycott.

This issue though downplayed at first ended up being among the topics most talked about at the seminar. However, no genuinely common approach emerged from the discussions.

**Academic Boycott, Yes or No?**

The final seminar document says vaguely that the subject of "the relationship between SADCC plant scientists and those of South Africa was discussed, and it was agreed that the position of the SADCC governments should be maintained." However, Dr. Richard Cowling, a guest from Capetown University, listed three different stances taken by SADCC governments. They include unlimited



official contacts—as in Malawi and Swaziland—, limited contacts—Botswana, Lesotho, and Namibia—, and total boycott as advocated by Angola, Tanzania, Mozambique, Zambia, and Zimbabwe.

Cowling favors lifting the academic boycott against his country. Otherwise, it might be applied selectively in order to leave open the possibility of contacts and exchanges with scientists who share his opposition to the system of apartheid.

"The effects of the academic boycott against South Africa are dramatic. We've had no contact with our colleagues in the region for decades, and this means we've been unable to study the problems of African plants. The problems facing Mozambique or some other country of the region in the area of vegetation will one day affect us (South Africa) too. Meanwhile, the countries of Southern Africa cannot take advantage of the immense material resources for plant science education and research that South Africa has. What's more some of the Frontline States send students abroad for graduate studies (in Europe or America). This is quite expensive notwithstanding the fact that the training they get is not really directed towards African problems."

In his speech to the seminar, Dr. Richard Cowling noted that the academic boycott continues to prevent South African scientists from participating in international conferences. This was the case at least six times between 1984 and 1988. It also translates into fewer visits between countries and difficulties in recruiting foreign labor."

Dr. Celeste Mondego described the boycott as necessary and said it should continue. "The purpose of the academic boycott is to pressure the regime in South Africa to change the system of apartheid. The sooner South Africa becomes democratic, the better it will be for us because it would also mean an end to destabilization efforts against Mozambique. These efforts make it more difficult for our country to develop its research capacities." However, she recognized that contacts with South African scientists would benefit Mozambique. She also acknowledged that steps are finally being taken to dismantle apartheid and that South Africa will become a democratic country. "Until then ... our position remains the same."

Dr. Angelina Lamberto gave a similarly negative reply. "Cooperation with South African scientists would be very important if we start with the proposition that they know more than we do and can do more because they have the means and the experience. However, everything depends on government policy in the country where we live. We know there is a commitment to opposing apartheid."

This speaker offered other reasons for a guarded approach to relations with South African scientists and allowing them to travel to Mozambique for research projects. She justified her position by the need to keep from exhausting the supply of research options for

domestic investigators. "The South Africans have more experience and greater resources for research. If we open up our work areas we run the risk of being left behind because their research will proceed more quickly. Once research results are published nobody else can lay claim to originality for carrying out an identical project." When advanced by countries in the region, this second argument carries more weight than the generic claim that the academic boycott increases pressure on South Africa to end apartheid. It raises the additional question of which harms South Africa more, the academic boycott or denying it landing rights at the region's airports.

Dr. Edroma notes, first of all, that there are differences of opinion among the SADCC countries. "Those at some distance from South Africa's borders want to maintain a total boycott. We in Uganda, for example, think this would be the best way to get people who live in South Africa and want cooperation with us to pressure the politicians to end apartheid."

"On the other hand, the countries on the border with South Africa see the problem from a different angle. They're more inclined to support a selective boycott."

The matter must be reconsidered at the government level in the SADCC countries since "we came to this seminar not knowing we would have to debate this issue," Dr. Edroma said. For their part, the scientists invited from South Africa promised to launch a campaign in their country denouncing the effects of destabilization on the Frontline States. This measure is known to enjoy support in some South African political and business circles. According to Dr. Richard Cowling, the South African scientists will also ask the Union of Democratic University Associations to include the Frontline States on the selective aid list. This association assists university professors who oppose apartheid in their work and in the countries of the region.

### Africa Is Still Behind

In calling for continental development, the Lagos Plan approved by African heads of state and government in 1980 urges all the governments to set aside one percent of their yearly budget for scientific research. Nobody can guarantee that this recommendation is put into practice although some research does go on even in the Frontline States most ravaged by war. The fact is that Africa has always lagged behind the development levels of other continents. This holds true even with respect to Asia where religious superstitions and taboos are widespread and on occasion are observed to the detriment of science.

Why does this backwardness persist?

"The conclusion we reached," said Dr. Eric Edroma, "is that we Africans have not emphasized science enough. This is the first reason. The second is that the science we teach and the research we conduct are not applicable to economic development in our countries." In this context, he added, the Network of African Scientists is pressing for immediate mobilization of the continent's

scientific resources "so we can do more research and put the results of this work into practice."

Dr. Angelina Lamberto sees three fundamental factors that have held Africa back. The first is lack of knowledge about the role of science in economic development. "Many countries give (or maybe they're obliged to give?) military spending a higher priority than investment in science education which is relegated to a secondary level," she observed. Second, much research takes place in isolated groups so it is common for some groups to repeat the work of others, and "thus there is no progress." Third, in countries such as Mozambique that won independence just a few years ago there is a simple lack of qualified personnel.

"Our university is young yet, and it had to start from zero after Portuguese researchers left during the early years of independence. Most of those who got training wound up teaching and don't have much time for research. They teach classes two semesters a year and have other administrative and pedagogical functions. Research requires time for concentration, literature searches, and visits to other institutions."

Nevertheless, she acknowledges that people are waking up to the need for scientific research. In the meantime, she thinks Africa will catch up sooner if government

leaders are sensitized to the importance of science to the economic development of their countries.

#### Principal Resolutions

Participants in this seminar agreed to the creation of a network of plant scientists in Southern Africa. It will seek to facilitate collaboration in plant science research and education through: a regional journal to be published in Mozambique in English and Portuguese; standardization in plant science education through joint publication of manuals; making governments and financing agencies more aware of the role of this science in national economic development; and, specialist training and cosupervision of graduate studies.

The recently created network must also organize biannual symposia (with the first scheduled for 1991 in Malawi) for the sharing of research information from the different countries.

Participants in the Maputo seminar also identified as priority research areas for the region: alleviating hunger; combatting deforestation; encouraging rational use of Africa's savannas and arid lands; utilization of land and sea plants; and, maintaining national plant collections for reference purposes.



## Gabon

### \* Professors List Grievances After Protests

34190070A Libreville L'UNION in French  
27-28 Jan 90 p 7

[Article by Zoff Blanchard Minang: "Mebiame to Professors: 'I Can Promise You Nothing, But...'" ]

[Text] Teachers at UOB [Omar Bongo University] and USTM [expansion unknown] have laid out their problems: the need to upgrade the profession, politicization of the academic machinery, disregard for laws and regulations, a myopic crisis-management approach to problems....

Mr. Leon Mebiame, the prime minister and head of government, spent five hours in the meeting hall at the prime ministry yesterday listening to the grievances presented by teachers and researchers from UOB and USTM in the aftermath of the events of 17 January.

Accompanying the prime minister were the third and fourth deputy prime ministers, Emile Kassa-Mapsi and Simon Essimengane, as well as Minister of State Jules Bourdes Ogoulguende and Minister Jean-Pierre Lembomba-Lepandou.

The visiting delegation, led by vice chancellors Ngaka-Nsafu and Mintsa-mi-Eya, included more than 100 teachers and researchers from our two universities, as well as the faculty deans.

In brief introductory remarks, the prime minister urged the academics to state their grievances clearly. "Say exactly what you have to say. I like plain talk."

Speaking on behalf of the academics was Mr. Ropivia, a geography professor, who brought to Mr. Mebiame's attention a number of points that have come up since student agitation broke out at UOB.

According to Mr. Ropivia, "the recent student agitation was indicative of a malaise, the principal causes of which are: the exclusion of professors from a voice in the operation of the university; refusal to listen to complaints and suggestions from the faculty; increased reliance on direct dialogue between students and the political authorities, to the detriment of pedagogical authority; politicization of the academic machinery, to the detriment of the academic hierarchy; disregard for laws and regulations; a myopic crisis-management approach to problems; and a decline in the quality of academic life and working conditions, as a result of ridiculously low budgets and inadequate infrastructure, devaluation of the teaching profession, and nontransparency of financial management."

After listing the causes of the malaise, he said: "These were the factors that brought on the tragic events that have led us to certain conclusions and recommendations, including the need for higher pay and a special allowance for research and teaching personnel."

Responding to the academics, the prime minister began by deploring the fact that students treated their professors as incompetents. "That is an insult," Mr. Mebiame said, before adding: "I concur in some of your grievances."

"In the absence of the president, you have asked to see me," he continued. "The Central Committee is calling for a mobilization of all the productive forces of the nation. We have discussed problems of general interest here. Be in your classrooms on Monday, for everyone must do his duty. I can promise you nothing, but we will take what you have said into consideration...."

### \* Repairs After University Disturbance Noted

34190070B Libreville L'UNION in French 25  
Jan 90 p 6

[Article: "340 Million CFA Francs To Compensate Students"]

[Text] El Hadj Omar Bongo, president of the republic, has decided to allocate the sum of 340 million CFA [African Financial Community] francs to compensate striking and nonstriking students at Omar Bongo University [UOB] for damages sustained during the police assault on the campus.

Student representatives presented a list of damage claims totaling 335 million CFA francs to the president during their second audience with him, a meeting that was also attended by Prime Minister Mebiame and the vice chancellors.

The next logical step, as President Bongo said Monday to the students during his first audience of the day, will hopefully be an assessment of the damage claims by a committee of students and university authorities that has been created for that purpose.

The head of state allocated the 340 million CFA francs in hopes of discouraging delayed claims and resolving the matter quickly. It was also stated that the government will provide compensation for personal injuries upon presentation of medical certificates. Only those seriously wounded who are still hospitalized will be eligible.

Distribution of the money will begin on Thursday under the supervision of treasury agents. In his brief remarks, President Bongo called on the students to show "more wisdom" in the future in order to avoid such situations.

The students at UOB began a strike on 16 January after classes were suspended. This led to heavyhanded police intervention on the university campus after strikers tried to march on the presidential palace.

The strikers were joined by elementary and high school pupils, who wanted to show "solidarity" with the university students. Jobless persons and other marginal types took advantage of the situation to loot stores and

destroy vehicles throughout the city. Courses will resume next Monday, rather than Thursday as initially scheduled.

**\* Opponent Sees Gradual Move to Multipartyism**

34190070C Libreville L'UNION in French  
26 Jan 90 p 8

[Interview with Father Paul Mba-Abessole, head of the National Recovery Movement (MORENA), following his acceptance of President Bongo's policy of a political opening, by J.B. Obame-Emane and Louis de Dravo: "Convergence of Views With Omar Bongo on Political Opening," date and place not given]

[Text] Following his televised announcement Wednesday night that he intended to "participate henceforth in the nation's political life within the framework of the presidential majority," Father Paul Mba-Abessole, the head of MORENA, gave an exclusive interview to L'UNION. He explained his reasons for participating in the policy of change and political opening advocated by El Hadj Omar Bongo, president of the republic. Our interview subject, whose movement is based on the principle of nonviolence, defined the presidential majority as an impartial mechanism that will allow the PDG [Gabonese Democratic Party] and MORENA to save face, while using the points on which they agree as a foundation for progress toward a political system that will have room for all Gabonese. But this will require both negotiation and serious thinking, he maintains.

[L'UNION] So now you want to participate in Gabonese political life as part of the presidential majority. What does that mean?

[Mba-Abessole] First of all I must explain what the presidential majority is. I was here in May 1989 to make contact and turn over a document—I thought it was important at the time—which more or less summed up MORENA's position on national issues. It was very much on target. I came back. The president named me to the committee we had talked about. A committee where we would reflect on the political future of the country. Since my return in November, we have been working on that.

Starting out, we all gave our respective opinions, and we said as bluntly as possible that the PDG was the PDG, and there was no way I was going to join the PDG. And in turn I was not demanding that the PDG join MORENA. After all, our main struggle is to achieve multipartyism, so in a struggle like that you don't let yourself be swallowed up by another party.

So these two principles are asserted, and our differences remain. But there is an imperious necessity, given the current situation in the country, to reflect on Gabon's political future. So we needed to find a framework, which we have called the "presidential majority." That means that the president wants to open up political space, which is exactly what I have been demanding for

the last 10 years. And in addition to political opening, he has a desire to bring change, reform, to the country. Again, this is something for which I have been agitating for more than 10 years, myself and my friends as well, of course. We had to find an impartial framework, something other than the PDG or MORENA. We chose the name "presidential majority," which is only a name, really.

Within this framework, both the PDG and MORENA will retain their identity, their freedom of action, their independent judgment. So this framework is not a coalition or an endorsement of any particular policy. It doesn't even exist yet.

The president wants a political opening. We have not yet mapped out all of its features. He also wants reforms. We don't yet have a precise understanding of their substance. What we do know is that in the future all the people in the country will express themselves in and through a number of different parties, in a multiparty system. The real question is how to get from a one-party system to a multiparty system. We are considering this question. No definitive decision has been made yet. We are modest. We are not pretentious. We are just going one step at a time. We are proceeding in such a way that no one loses face. We are not trampling on people's feelings as we move forward. There are some people who have important interests at stake: we have to respect them. I don't have that much at stake myself, admittedly. But we continue to move ahead.

[L'UNION] Do you think all the conditions have now been met—conditions which you always demanded from the regime, and which MORENA always defended—for a broad national debate on democratization of the Gabonese political system?

[Mba-Abessole] The initial conditions have already been met. I am here, I can speak freely, I meet with my friends, and the police don't harass me. We work, and I notify the police when I have a rally. We have a rally next Saturday, for example. Everyone is invited. I am even inviting PDG people who want to come listen.

Our policy represents the political future of the country. I feel that I am perfectly free, I am able to express myself; that is already something. All Gabonese must be allowed to express themselves. I, who have opposed the regime for 10 years, am expressing myself. I have had talks with the president, and he told me: "You are Gabonese. You are perfectly entitled to express yourself in this country. As for your MORENA, it is true that your movement has not yet been officially legalized. But the fact that you were speaking, that you were able to hold rallies, shows that things are moving forward."

[L'UNION] At the last meeting of the Central Committee, the PDG reaffirmed the one-party principle, the principle that Gabon is a one-party state. But pluralism of ideas was accepted. Are you satisfied? Are you still with MORENA?

[Mba-Abessole] The PDG is a political party that decides for itself what it wants. I have no reason to pass judgment on the comportment of any political party. President Bongo is in power, not the PDG. The party is another matter. The PDG can organize itself any way it wants; MORENA is going to organize itself as it pleases. What impressed me about the Central Committee meeting was that it established a committee on democracy, a committee with whom I have recently communicated; and I think the opening is noticeable. But it must not be limited to one party, one viewpoint, one Gabonese political faction: it must include everybody. We are all a part of it, the PDG as well as MORENA.

[L'UNION] You spoke of the committee created to reflect on democracy. Do you mean democracy in the party, or democracy in the nation?

[Mba-Abessole] Obviously, what we are talking about is democracy for the whole country, multiparty democracy. That is what we are studying. Everyone has the right to look at the issue of democracy in his own party, the freedom of expression, the tolerance for diverse ideas. But that is not what concerns us. That is up to the PDG. What we are talking about is multiparty democracy, in other words democracy for the whole country.

[L'UNION] A party depends on its financial resources. How is MORENA doing in that respect?

[Mba-Abessole] MORENA scarcely has any financial resources. We survive on the strength of our ideas. We have our militants to help us. We are not worried about financial resources yet. What is important is to explain to the people the validity of what we are doing. Explain and explain again. I assure you that many people already understand.

[L'UNION] But isn't your agreement to participate in the democratization committee that was set up after the special Central Committee meeting a step toward joining the party? That is what people think.

[Mba-Abessole] They misunderstood completely. President Bongo said he wanted all currents of opinion to express themselves within the framework of the committee for democracy. It is in that context that I was asked to give my opinions. There is no question of a coalition or of a first step toward merging with the PDG. When you agree to participate in a workshop to study ideas, the aim is to think about them. We are negotiating with the president's advisers within the framework of that committee. They are not taking the first step toward joining MORENA. Neither are we taking the first step toward joining the PDG. People do not know enough about how politics works to understand this.

[L'UNION] You say that, henceforth, you are going to participate in political life within the framework of the presidential majority. Isn't that a way of agreeing to work with the regime that you fought so fiercely for 10 years?

[Mba-Abessole] I told you at the start that the presidential majority is an impartial framework. It has nothing to do with the regime. A regime that I have fought for 20 years. You must understand I am not going to work in that kind of framework. That is why it was called the presidential majority, because it is a neutral term. The president is not necessarily the same as the PDG. From the moment he expressed his desire for opening and change, the regime started changing, and the change is already evident in this impartial structure within which we can consider the issues...

[L'UNION] Yes, but the president embodies the party, in the sense that he is its founding president.

[Mba-Abessole] A president cannot be identified with one political party. That is precisely what we have been rebelling against. I do not consider President Bongo as someone who is identified with or conditioned by the party. No, no, and no. He founded the party, true. But not all those who elected him head of state are members of the PDG. It is absolutely essential for people to understand that the president is above the parties.

[L'UNION] When you were in Paris, you made some very harsh criticisms of President Bongo. Curiously, your language today is very conciliatory. What does this change in rhetoric mean?

[Mba-Abessole] It is no change. When you are debating with someone at a distance, you have one way of talking. But when you are in direct contact with that person, you learn more about him. You could well ask the president the same question you asked me. Since my return, the head of state has made no unkind remarks about me. We are discussing things. There are also his advisers, people whom I respect, talented people, and they too appreciate certain aspects of my modest personality.

I think that from the moment you begin to treat people better, to see the reasoning behind their point of view, you start to use a different tone with them. That in itself is not change. It is simply an improvement in our relations.

[L'UNION] Some of your first supporters reproach you for having sold out MORENA, for having betrayed it. What do you tell them?

[Mba-Abessole] MORENA cannot be sold out, since it is not a question of money. People who say that are people who need money. MORENA is a party based on the principle of nonviolence, and when you opt for nonviolence it means you use dialogue, always dialogue, to change people's minds. That is where the country's future lies. Those who want to foment coups, those who say they don't want to dialogue with President Bongo, let them plot their coups and then we'll see how they end up. As for ourselves, we are saying that the only way, the sure way, toward a promising future is through negotiation. Discussion. Dialogue. Those who interpret this as a sellout of MORENA are mistaken.



## Sao Tome & Principe

### \* Development Projects With EEC Described

90EF0267A Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICIAS  
in Portuguese 2 Feb 90 p 51

[Article by Sao Tome correspondent Maximino Carlos:  
"Sao Tome and Principe Maintains Silence"]

[Text] Sao Tome and Principe—whose economy is characterized by a relatively undeveloped agricultural sector centered around the growing of cacao, the export of which represents on the average more than 80 percent of all receipts in foreign exchange—signed the Lome Convention in 1977, after which date its cooperation with the European Economic Community developed within the framework of that agreement. In 1979 the country signed Lome II, in December 1984 Lome III, and on 15 December 1989 Lome IV, which has not yet gone into effect.

While waiting for the convention to go into effect, the Sao Tome government is maintaining silence. The amount involved is still not known, nor how it is to be utilized. The Sao Tome representatives will have to negotiate with the EEC delegation present in Sao Tome concerning the National Indicative Program, undertake a detailed evaluation of the EEC intervention that has taken place over the past 11 years, and establish other areas for intervention.

It is known, however, that under the Lome IV Convention—the duration of which is 10 years (1990-2000)—there are possibilities in the area of social infrastructures, especially with respect to roads, health, and education.

The budget established in the previous convention—Lome III (1984-89)—for the National Indicative Program within the framework of the EDF [European Development Fund] was 6 million ECU's [European Currency Units], including 4 million for agriculture, the Sao Tome government's top priority area. This sum was utilized in the project for rehabilitation of the palm plantations and includes the production of high-yield seeds and the popularization of agricultural methods adapted to local conditions. Specifically, it is the Project for the Development of Edible Oil Crops, which has two stages. The first stage consisted of the planting of selected palm trees and the second—the current stage—consists of the construction of a factory for industrial utilization with the capacity for processing 3 tons of clusters per hour. This means that the country will be self-sufficient in edible oils.

The factory will be constructed by the firm Ramalho Rosa, Ltd., and should be completed as early as this year provided the building materials arrive according to the schedule established in the agreement.

These actions have gradually taken on the greatest significance for the country's foreign trade. Of all the

merchandise shipped to Europe cacao is the most important item, but cacao exports have recorded a sharp decline since 1979 as a consequence of the substantial decline in the prices for the product on world markets and also because of a decline in the quantities produced.

The principal items imported from the EEC are food products, manufactured articles, machinery, and transportation equipment.

Also in this connection, in consideration of the isolated location of the islands a ship—the Pague—was acquired. It will provide regular service to the African continent in an attempt to respond adequately to the requirements for the transport of passengers and freight.

This acquisition was financed in part by the National Indicative Program and in part by the Regional Program for Trade Among the Countries of the Gulf of Guinea (Sao Tome and Principe, Gabon, Equatorial Guinea, and Cameroon).

A joint study conducted by Portuguese technicians in the employ of the EEC and by Sao Tome technicians reports that the ship is not adapted to the existing trade structure of the region, in that it was built for the transport of cargo of small tonnage, for on its voyages to Gabon, Equatorial Guinea, and Cameroon the discovery was made that some cargo came in containers, which the ship had not been built to accommodate. To cope with this situation the EEC financed a project for rebuilding the Pague to adapt its internal structures. The ship is currently in Portugal for this purpose.

Fishing is another priority area of the Sao Tome government. In this connection, and with the objective of creating the conditions for greater utilization of the country's fishing resources, the Indicative Program provided for steps to be taken to rehabilitate the existing port infrastructure, specifically, partial restoration of the refrigerated facilities, construction of an icemaking plant, and personnel training.

In 1983 an agreement went into effect regulating the conditions under which the fishing boats of the EEC member states could fish in the territorial waters of Sao Tome and Principe. Six boats are currently fishing under the terms of this agreement. In return, the EEC is committed to paying an annual compensation: The right to fish is subject to the payment of a license fee of \$15,000.

With this money the EEC pays Sao Tome and Principe's contribution to the Regional Fishery Commission and also pays for the country's participation in the international conferences that deal with fishing.

In the area of health, provision has been made for the rehabilitation this year of Santo Antonio do Principe Hospital. The project is funded at 980,000 ECU's, with the participation of the AMI (International Medical

Aid)—a Portuguese nongovernmental organization currently operating in Sao Tome—and several embassies, in particular the Canadian embassy.

### Improve Health

This project has been turned over to the Ministry of Health, Ministry of Cooperation, and Ministry of Social Development and the Environment so that they may formulate plans for getting it under way. The project calls for expansion of the hospital facilities and the acquisition of modern equipment and medicines.

Also in the area of health, the EEC is funding a project to fight AIDS and also provided \$50,000 in emergency aid during the cholera epidemic.

Outside the framework of the Convention, the EEC has a joint program with Sao Tome and Principe for the import sector involving 1.4 million ECU's, of which 1 million is earmarked for the acquisition of a generator group and 8,000 electricity meters.

A Belgian company has undertaken the job of installing the generator group, while the National Clock Factory (National Regulators, Inc) will install the meters. At the present time the Sao Tome government is awaiting a definitive response from these two firms. The installation of these two items, however, is contingent on the restructuring of the EMAE [Electricity and Water Company], which is being carried out in conjunction with a French company.

Approximately 400,000 ECU's are being used to purchase food, especially sugar, milk, and edible oil; caustic soda; and soap.

In addition to the Import Sector Program there is the Food Aid Program, under which Sao Tome and Principe

has received significant quantities of cereal grains and "butteroil," which are sold to the public at low prices.

Also noteworthy within the framework of EEC cooperation is the project to bring water to the city of Trindade e Sao Joao dos Angolares, but the project is currently facing a series of problems. The fact is that since the provisional dedication of the project—at a ceremony presided over by President Pinto da Costa during the commemoration of the tenth anniversary of cooperation between the EEC and Sao Tome and Principe—the supply of water to the population has been inadequate. Four Portuguese companies participated in the project, one of which was Hidroprojecto, which planned and supervised it, but the reevaluation of the project is currently encountering many difficulties because the subcontracting firm—SOMECE—and Hidroprojecto are awaiting possible negotiations with the Sao Tome government.

The basic objectives of the government are the establishment of a more just and equitable society, the development of a secure food supply, and the improvement of the material and cultural living standards of the population.

The efforts being made by the national authorities to achieve these objectives include employing the nation's productive forces in the task of national reconstruction, utilizing the creative initiative of all active participants in the economy, giving the workers responsible roles to play, and consolidating Sao Tome's relations with the neighboring countries and with the rest of the world.

Sao Tome and Principe is a member of the Economic Community of Central African States (CEEAC), whose sixth summit was held very recently in Kigali, Rwanda, and was attended by President Pinto da Costa.

In 1982 the international community granted Sao Tome and Principe "least developed country" status (LLDC).

## Ethiopia

### Explosions Reported in Libyan, Sudanese Embassies

LD1204185690 Tripoli JANA in Arabic 1800 GMT  
12 Apr 90

[Text] Addis Ababa, 12 al-Tayr [April], JANA—A small explosion went off at the Sudanese Embassy in the Ethiopian capital, Addis Ababa, last night; a number of window frames and their glass were broken as result. However, none of the embassy's workers were harmed.

Following the explosion at the Sudanese Embassy in the Ethiopian capital last night another one went off at the Libyan Arab People's Bureau; a number of window frames glass were broken. JANA's correspondent has reported that the explosion at the Libyan Arab People's Bureau cost no human losses. The explosion went off at the time of breaking of the fast, therefore no employee was inside the bureau.

### Radio Rejects ICO Complaints on Falashas

EA1204215490 Addis Ababa in Amharic to Neighboring Countries 1600 GMT 12 Apr 90

[Text] Recent complaints from some quarters that some Ethiopians are to be settled on Palestinian land are not only baseless but contrary to the rights of movement of any citizen. The complaints by the Islamic Conference Organization [ICO] in particular, and some individuals in general, is in contradiction with the rights of movement of Ethiopians from one place to another, which has been clearly stipulated and confirmed in the Ethiopian Constitution. Hence, the allegations and complaints are unfounded and unacceptable.

The movement of our citizens commonly known as House of Israel or Falashas outside the country is in line with the country's rules, and like that of any other Ethiopian, cannot be seen any differently. It is well known that the Ethiopian Government has not taken any steps to (?force) anyone to go and settle somewhere else, apart from issuing an exit visa after every Ethiopian has fulfilled the necessary conditions to leave the country. In view of these facts, the allegations from some areas are nothing but preparation for another attack on our country.

The movement of people from one place to another and from one country to another is not a new event in human history, and therefore, such movement should not be regarded as something strange. It is not an issue over which accusations should be made. The movement of people from one place to another is part of the basic rights of citizens; it is not limited to within and outside the country, but, as long as it is carried out within stipulated rules and regulations, the issue is one of basic human rights.

When seen in the light of this basic idea, the legal movement from one country to another by any Ethiopian is respected, for it is the national right of citizens. It is known that many Ethiopians, for many years, have been moving to different countries in search of work, education, and similar reasons. When it is known that the legal movement in and out of a country is a basic right of nationals, it can be seen that the allegations that Ethiopians are going to be resettled on Palestinian land are unacceptable.

### \* Marxist Leaders' Pictures Removed From Display

90EF0312A Paris LE MONDE in French  
13 Mar 90 p 7

[Article by Catherine Simon: "The Fall of the Marxist Trinity"; first paragraph is LE MONDE introduction]

[Text] Last week Ethiopia adopted spectacular political and economic reforms, and the capital, Addis Ababa, presents a different aspect. But this opening comes at a time when the rebels in the north of the country are becoming increasingly bold.

Nairobi—The wind from the east, which has timidly begun to blow on Addis Ababa, has just claimed three victims. During the night of 9-10 March, the gigantic portraits of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, which had overlooked Revolution Square for more than fifteen years, were removed without notice or ceremony. The disappearance of the three bearded ones—collectively nicknamed "The Trinity" by certain facetious Ethiopians—is not the only aspect of this spectacular and new political lifting [preceding word in English].

Certain signs, decorated with socialist slogans dear to the regime, were also changed. The "Long Live the International Proletariat" has lost its "Proletariat," to the great displeasure of passers-by who could not believe their eyes. However, Revolution Square, where all great gatherings and national parades take place, has not emerged completely naked from this clean-up operation. The immense portrait of President Mengistu Haile Mariam, and the sign of the party and of Ethiopia, have remained intact.

These changes of facade—in the literal sense—follow the political and economic reforms, also very spectacular, adopted last week by the central committee of the ex-Party of Ethiopian Workers, newly re-baptized as the Party of Democratic Ethiopian Unity.

In the economic field the "private sector"—until now held in contempt—has been suddenly endowed with the leading role, "without limitations." In the political field it was announced that the "way is open" for opposition groups (see our issues of 7 March). However, these unprecedented professions of faith have little chance of winning over the regime's principal opponents: the resistance in Eritrea and the Tigray. An Ethiopian-style



multipart system actually offers them limited opportunities. True, they can "participate," but only within the party.

The symbolic but undeniable opening, which the Addis Ababa leaders are revealing today, comes at a critical time. Aside from the ideological identity crisis that seems to agitate them, the government must face increasingly bold offensives by the northern rebels. The prolongation of the civil war constitutes a threat that is all the more serious because foreign military assistance is now marking time. According to a good source, in Addis Ababa it is pointed out that since December East Germany reportedly has suspended its arms deliveries, and that the Soviet Union reportedly has already reduced the number of its military advisers by two-thirds. The Ethiopian army hardly seems effective on the ground, despite Israel's supposed "little pushes ahead" (Israel denies having sent two hundred military advisers and denies having furnished arms to Addis Ababa), and despite North Korea's hypothetical contribution.

Confrontations are raging in the provinces of Tigray, Welo, and Gonder, while combat continues around the port of Massawa in Eritrea, hampering efforts to transport food assistance to the people threatened with famine. Last Thursday in Gonder province, the Tigray rebels claimed to have disabled "17,000 soldiers of the government's army," during an attack on the town of Debre-Tabor.

#### \* Entrepreneurs Support New Economic Policy

34000546 Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD  
in English 18 Mar 90 p 2

[Article by Melkam-Tesfe Beyene]

[Text] The new economic policy measures recently adopted by the 11th regular party plenum continue to be widely acclaimed by Ethiopians at home and abroad.

The HERALD approached four entrepreneurs for their comments on the new economic policy. One of the interviewees was Ato Woubshet Workalemahu, Managing Director of the Lion Advertising and Public Relations Organizations who is also vice president of the Addis Ababa Chamber of Commerce. A reputed advertiser and a public relations man for the past 40 years, Ato Woubshet had earned fame at home and acknowledged. He is member of the International Advertising Association. He says his organization controls a greater portion of the advertising and public relation work in Ethiopia. Ato Woubshet was a recipient of the International Gold Mercury in 1981. Ato Woubshet plans and hopes to transform his organization into a big industry in the course of the process of implementing the new policy.

Commenting on the policy, he said that the masses in general and those in the business circle in particular have wholeheartedly accepted the policy. It now remains for the government to issue proclamations, decrees and guidelines that could translate the policy into practice.

Ato Woubshet says he is particularly impressed by the new economic policy which authorizes private investors to open up business without any capital restrictions. Unlike in the past, businessmen will now refrain from squandering their money in lavish life styles and instead divert all their financial resources towards worthwhile ventures thereby providing job opportunities for the jobless and strengthening the national economy.

He pointed out that the country has great potentials in terms of resources that are not yet exploited. The role of advertising to popularize Ethiopia and its products is great, the advertiser added.

On the need for the prevalence of peace, Ato Woubshet said that peace is decisive for undertaking any type of development venture. But what is being perpetrated by the so-called Shabia and Woyane groups is very much regrettable he noted, adding that everything possible should be done to stop the conflict.

He said that members of the commerce and trading community are very much in support of restoring peace in one way or the other.

Ato Mulugeta Gessesse, an entrepreneur, will soon realize his long-standing aspiration of contributing his share to the development of the hotel industry in this country. The construction of his first project, a four story hotel, in Higher 17 kebele 13, is nearing completion. The hotel will have 40 well-furnished rooms as well as a restaurant that could render service for about 100 guests by international standards.

Built at a total cost of 2-million birr, the hotel will provide employment opportunities for 65 persons, according to Ato Mulugeta.

His second project, planned to be operational under a joint venture, is submitted for approval. The 20 million birr project is a ten story hotel that will have more than 250 rooms and capable of creating jobs for over 500 persons. What is more, Ato Mulugeta is planning to have a chain of hotels in the country and thanks to the new policy he is confident that his dreams will come true.

Asked to comment on the new policy, the businessmen said that the policy provides wide ranging opportunities for all those who have the desire as well as capacities to invest capital and launch any type of project, be it industrial or agricultural.

In his words, the policy is progressive in the sense that it is in keeping with the aspirations of the people and the objective situation of the nation. It will enable investors not only to gain from their businesses but also to contribute to the growth of the economy, he said, adding that he is certain that investors will henceforth hasten to launch business project.

While appreciating the policy for allowing business people to function under no capital restriction, he emphasized that bureaucratic red tapes should be

avoided so that business would flourish and be run smoothly and effectively and thereby help the policy attain its intended goals.

A business administrator by profession, Ato Mulugeta noted that a mixed economy has proved effective in the developed as well as the developing world in contributing a great deal to strengthen the economy. It would certainly work for Ethiopia which has great potentials in natural and manpower resources, he said, adding that the nation would be not only self-sufficient in production but also active member of the international market in a few years time.

Ato Mulugeta underscored the need for monetary and other organizations, including insurance companies, to participate not only in providing loans but also directly participate in investing capital to undertake business which, he said, is practiced in some African countries and proved effective.

Ato Teklu Maru is General Manager of Fitsum World Trade. His firm exports Ethiopian products and functions as procurement agent.

The firm strives to encourage those people who work in cottage industries by way of finding markets outside Ethiopia and look for suitable hand tools that could improve products in quality and quantity. It also contacts international donor organizations that will provide funds for the promotion of small-scale industries.

Commenting on the benefit of mixed economy, Ato Teklu said: "It is a system by which the efficiency of private and government firms could be boosted and the growth of production is guaranteed."

This is a country whose development has been highly affected by the shortage of foreign currency earning, he said, pointing out that mixed economy could play a role to help the economy revive through the increased export of qualitative products.

He shares the views of Ato Woubshet concerning the urgent measure that should be taken to ensure the implementation of the policy.

Ato Teklu raised a point regarding the need for giving support for international monetary organizations that could facilitate loans. He also underscored the need for making a call on Ethiopians residing abroad so that they come and contribute their share to the development of the nation.

He noted that Ethiopians, whose economy is based upon agriculture, has now broad chance not only to feed its own people but also export agricultural products. The endeavor would certainly restore our identity as self-sufficient people and provide jobs for school drop outs and school leavers, he stated.

Ato Teshome Kebede is General Manager of Triumph National Trading Private Limited Company, which mostly deals with import and export trade.

Having stayed in this trade for the past 12 years, Ato Teshome said he has received the news of the policy measures with immense satisfaction.

In a country like Ethiopia, where capital accumulation is at a lower stage, it is necessary to mobilize available financial resources and thereby transform the nation to a better economic standing, he noted, adding that the policy lays basis for such an endeavor. It is his view that translating the policy into reality through ensuring measures is basic and decisive.

He noted that the nation's resources are not fully exploited. Resources in the field of agriculture, industry, tourism, mines and energy are not at all tapped. "It is therefore urgently necessary that we get ourselves out of this riddle. And now is the time," he further pointed out.

Priority should be given to develop the agricultural sector as it employs the majority of the population and greatly contribute to the economy in many respects, he noted.

Regarding the shortage of foreign currency, he stated that the country's problem is not so much a shortage of currency earning but lack of peace, production and productivity.

"If peace reigns we could divert the budget from defence spending to that of development ventures. If the population is properly fed it also means decreasing the amount of budget spend on health as the major portion of the population is affected by diseases that arise from shortage of food and pure water. This makes it imperative to find a solution for the war and produce more, he said, adding that foreign currency earning is not as much a determining factor for the development of a country like Ethiopia whose basic need is food and where the majority of peasants make use of agricultural implements that are not imported.

Ato Teshome, who believes that the new policy would very much encourage private investors, said he is planning to go into the hotel industry and related ventures, if his economic capacity allows.

## Kenya

### Moi 'Rules Out' Possibility of Multiparty System

EA1304105090 Nairobi Domestic Service in English  
1300 GMT 12 Apr 90

[Excerpts] His Excellency President arap Moi today pointed out that there was democracy in Kenya and ruled out the possibility of multiparties, saying that they would only cause disunity and create chaos in the country. The president said some misguided people, including some lawyers with their paymasters abroad, were advocating for multiparties today, but said that in the present-day Kenya, they would only divide wananchi [citizens] along ethnic lines. He said that one political

party was enough and it ensured that there was unity in the country, where anyone seeking a political seat was free to contest.

President Moi said that there was need to promote a society of cohesiveness and nationalism which, he observed, will not be possible in a multiparty political system, since those parties would only represent tribal feelings and not national opinion. President Moi said that a multiparty system in Kenya can only be contemplated when the present young generation, who are nationalistic in their outlook, have come of age. He said that the older generation still harbors tribal feelings. [passage omitted]

President Moi was addressing the nation during the first graduation ceremony for Laikipia Teachers' College, where he presented diplomas and awards to the 260 graduates.

President Moi said that he had a lot of confidence with the present generation as they were patriotic and understood the need for nationalism, unlike the older generation who found it difficult to discard tribalism and sectionalism. [passage omitted]

#### **Saitoti Denies Government Role in Ouko Murder**

*EA1204120190 Nairobi KNA in English 1640 GMT 11 Apr 90*

[Text] Washington, 11 April (KNA)—The vice president and minister for finance Professor George Saitoti yesterday absolved the Kenya Government from any connection with the recent murder of the late Dr Robert Ouko, former minister for foreign affairs and international cooperation. Professor Saitoti made the denial in Washington during an interview with the Voice of America, Africa Service. The vice president is in Washington to review with relevant authorities development programmes supported in Kenya by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

Professor Saitoti said that the late Minister Ouko was a loyal and dedicated minister of the Kenya Government and the ruling party KANU [Kenya African National Union] and that there was no way the government could have played any part in the murder.

He said if there was anyone who was mostly aggrieved by the death, it was President Daniel arap Moi for having lost one of his most committed ministers in the cabinet.

The government with the help of the Scotland Yard detectives from Britain was doing everything possible to unravel the mystery surrounding Dr Ouko's death and no stone will be left unturned, he asserted. The vice president said it was absurd for anyone to circulate rumours with no basis or truth at all that the government could have had a hand in the elimination of a great advocate of peace and ardent supporter of the Kenyan political system like Dr Ouko.

Professor Saitoti also took a swipe with advocates of multi-party system in Africa. He said at this time many governments in the continent are not ready for the introduction of a multi-party system of government. He said such a development could only stir tribalism and yield national disintegration and chaos. He said political changes in Eastern Europe have no parallel in Africa and more so in Kenya.

Eastern European countries have waged a war against communism but Kenya had never embraced communism. He said Kenyans have voluntarily and democratically chosen a one-party system to promote national integration.

Professor Saitoti commended President Moi for the enlightened and inspiring leadership which had consolidated national unity and enabled Kenya to attain unparalleled economic achievement in the continent. He said President Moi was caring and committed to improving the quality of life of all Kenyans.

On Kenya's role in mediating peace in the region, Professor Saitoti said President Moi was committed to seeking peace in the Sudan, Ethiopia, Somalia, and Mozambique.

He hailed the good relationship between Kenya and the World Bank and the IMF. He said Kenya's structural adjustment programme was on the right track and has begun to bear fruits.

Later, the vice president attended a party at the ambassador's residence hosted in his honour by Ambassador Dennis Afande. In attendance were senior World Bank, IMF, and U.S. Government officials as well as Kenyan nationals in the Washington metropolitan area.

Professor Saitoti is being accompanied by his permanent secretary [PS] Mr Charles Mbindyo, PS for commerce, Mrs Margaret Githinji, PS for industry Dr W Koinange and the governor of the Central Bank Mr Eric Kotut, among others.

#### **Somalia**

#### **President Prepared To 'Hand Over Power'**

*EA1204210490 Mogadishu Domestic Service in Somali 1715 GMT 12 Apr 90*

[Speech by President Siad Barre at Armed Forces Day ceremony; 11 April; place not given—recorded]

[Text] In the name of God, the most compassionate and most merciful. Comrades, I greet you all from the bottom of my heart. I believe [applause] that, after congratulating you all, the history of the Somali Democratic Republic [SDR] Armed Forces does not need a long speech. The achievements of the SDR Armed Forces speak for themselves. The achievements of the SDR Armed Forces are known by everybody.



The 30th anniversary of the SDR Armed Forces is being celebrated by all those who love the Somali nation. The SDR Armed Forces spearheaded the defense of the dignity and honor of the Somali nation. The SDR Armed Forces have on many occasions joined hands with the general public of Somalia to ensure that the very existence of the nationhood of Somalia is maintained and safeguarded. The members of the SDR Armed Forces and their families have sacrificed their lives in safeguarding the security and defense of Somalia. The members of the Armed Forces have striven hard to help the Somali people.

The achievements of the SDR Armed Forces were put to the test during the torrential rains and floods which affected half of Somalia, especially the central and southern regions [date not given]. The SDR Armed Forces rushed to inaccessible areas using whatever equipment and resources were at their disposal to rescue individuals, families, and their livestock marooned in various areas. This was followed by the cholera epidemic, during which the SDR Armed Forces helped to deliver medicine, clean water, and food to remote villages in various regions of Somalia. Another occasion on which the SDR Army fully participated in social services was during the prolonged drought in Somalia. The Army moved entire families by road and air to areas where food was easily accessible. [applause]

Comrades, those of you who witnessed what I am talking about will rate the achievements of the SDR Armed Forces very high. Some reactionary elements among the Somali people refuse to see the work done by their forces at all. Some who listen to the propaganda put out by enemies of Somalia also refuse to see the achievements of the SDR Armed Forces. Tomorrow these elements will have a bad name among the Somali people.

Fomrades, there is no permanent happiness or permanent calamity on the earth. Everything has its moment, and that is what we have seen happen to the SDR Armed Forces. The SDR Armed Forces will appear on a golden page of the history of the Somali nation. I believe some of you sitting here are among those who took part in the inception of the SDR Armed Forces. I believe you understand the difficult role the Army played in safeguarding the nation's dignity and honor. I appeal to the public to give their due respect to those persons who took part in the inception of the SDR Armed Forces and who are living among us. [applause]

We need to revert to the original discipline of the Army and members of the public generally. [words indistinct] I thank you. [applause]

I now turn to another issue, which is in the interests of the Somali nation. What we need is to find a solution to the problems facing the people. They need to obtain water, food, and other necessities. It is imperative for all of us to strive and get these things. Once again, I repeat that those Somali people who have fled outside the country and who have been cheated... [changes thought]

I appeal to them to return home and make use of the opportunities that exist here. If you have differences with us, come and let us debate. People debate, there is nothing wrong in having differences and debating them. If you have differences with your brother, the best solution is to hold a discussion where he will raise his point of view and you do likewise. After debating, the two of you will come to a compromise. I hope that many people who are not Somalis but who are enaged in causing a stir about some issues will recognize that it is not in their interests nor in the interests of the Somali people, and will finally refrain from such lies and propaganda. If they need anything from Somalia, they should come forward and say we need this and that from you. I will leave that issue there. [applause]

We said earlier, and we still believe that we are not at war with any individual country. We say to anyone among the people of the world who needs peace and good relations that we are ready for that. We welcome those who interest themselves with peace and stability. We extend genuine peace and friendship to them. Our offer is not sugar-coated with lies and cheating.

In conclusion, you will recall that the Central Committee of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party [SRSP] has approved the formation of other political parties, so as to allow everyone to participate in national issues. No one will be hoodwinked into an ideology he does not believe in. We call on all Somalis to participate in the forthcoming exercise. We are prepared for that [applause]. I once again invite those outside the country to come inside and participate in whatever is going on.

The final decision of who will govern this country is in the hands of the Somali public. We are prepared to hand over power to whomever the Somali public choose. Thank you. [applause]

## Tanzania

### \* Fishing Agreement With EEC To Be Signed

34000498B Paris LA LETTRE DU CONTINENT  
in English 24 Feb 90 p 6

[Text]

### Closer to an EEC Fishing Agreement?

The third round of negotiations which are scheduled to take place in March between Tanzania and the EEC for the establishment of a fishing agreement, may be concluded positively. The negotiators will nevertheless have to come to an agreement on the amount of financial compensation to be paid by the Community. Another bone of contention for the European Commission, principally interested in tuna fishing, is the pressure exerted by Denmark who would appreciate obtaining fishing rights for shrimp. Other member-states, and in particular Portugal, refuse to pay a high price merely to obtain an agreement in this sector. Lisbonne considers, that the

finer Dar es Salaam wants to impose on European trawlers which exceed the quota for the number of fish caught or for the tonnage unloaded in Tanzania, are too "radical."

### **Danish Officials Critical of Aid Results**

90EF0256A Copenhagen *BERLINGSKE TIDENDE*  
SONDAG in Danish 14 Jan 90 p 7

[Michael Ulveman article: "Drops on the African Savanna"]

[Text] Danish foreign aid to Tanzania is working well in the great majority of cases. But the assistance is falling like drops of water on a dry savanna in a country with corruption and an outdated power apparatus. This is what Danish politicians learned this week.

Dar Es Salaam—"We have no fiascos. But there are some things that are being done better than others."

The chief of the Danish aid mission in Tanzania, Knud Kjaer Nielsen, weighed his words carefully. He was asked for the second time: "What is your greatest success and your greatest fiasco?"

The questioners were members of parliament's Finance Committee, who inspected Denmark's largest assistance projects in Tanzania this week.

The politicians wanted some clear answers.

After 27 years of continuous Danish assistance to Tanzania, that country is staggering under enormous problems. Development in Africa has not proceeded as the West expected 15 years ago. Other Western donors have withdrawn in frustration and the African nightmare is the trend in Eastern Europe, which could siphon off western assistance from the African continent.

But Denmark has remained in Tanzania as a faithful friend and now this friend wants to see the results with his own eyes. He would like to see the results of 400 million kroner per year in the landscape.

Consequently, everyone knew what was at stake—DANIDA [Danish International Development Aid] and Knud Kjaer Nielsen, the government of Tanzania, and the politicians themselves.

There are plenty of shocking pictures in the country. A 13-year-old railroad built by the Chinese is already falling apart, because it has not been maintained. On the island of Zanzibar there is a 450-ton trawler that is about to sink. The ship was paid for by the West Germans but it has never been used.

### **Cement Fiasco**

The Danish politicians did not experience anything of this magnitude, although the failed venture in the cement business was close. After 15 years the cement

factory is still not in operation. It has no electricity, no raw materials, and no way to distribute the cement.

In two years the factory on the dusty savanna will probably ask for more Danish funding. There will probably have to be some particularly good reasons presented for this, since many members of the Finance Committee openly stated that the factory never should have been built and that Denmark has made a poor investment.

The strongest impression on the committee was made by the primitive everyday African life.

At one end of Dar Es Salaam Harbor containers were being unloaded with advanced cranes from Denmark. At the other end harbor workers sat in small groups, staring off into space. The work was proceeding at 10 percent of the normal pace, by Danish standards.

The same scene repeated itself along the hopeless, miserable dirt roads of Mwanza: Tanzanians as passive observers of development, while traffic moved at a snail's pace because no one repaired the roads. "Why isn't everyone sent out with a shovel?" Erik B. Smith (Social Democrat) asked.

"An antiquated government," is the usual answer to most of the problems. Afro-socialism, as introduced by the father of this country, Julius Nyerere, has gone into a state of partial bankruptcy and his successor, Ali Hassan Mwinyi, is taking some small steps toward liberalization of the economy.

But there is a long way to go.

Corruption is on the rise everywhere and the attempt to get agriculture moving has been unsuccessful.

"It is no use if the government destroys more than we give them?" said Bernt Johan Collet (Conservative).

### **Best for Water**

Agricultural production is falling in this particularly fertile land in which several harvests per year are possible. The socialist government gives farmers only 60-70 percent of the world market price for their crops, so that prices will not be too high for people living in the towns.

The result is that farmers produce only enough for their own consumption. Exports are falling. Production of a typical export crop such as cashew nuts that are eaten with cocktails has dropped from 150,000 tons to 15,000 tons.

The problems are so severe that the Danish politicians concluded that Denmark's aid is dropping like water on the dry savanna. Isolated projects function well, but the environment is suffering and there is a lack of coordination among countries receiving assistance.

Concerning the lack of coordination, Danish Ambassador Erno Olsen stated:

"Some countries have a colonial past. Their technical standards are used and, consequently, they are not interested in laying all their cards on the table. They are holding on to them."

In Iringa, Denmark is supplying water for one million poor people. They no longer have to walk 10 or 15 kilometers for water and death from diarrhea has been almost eradicated in a country where 137 children out of every 1,000 die.

"The cement plant cost exactly the same as it cost to supply these million people with water. I believe we are better off supplying water than cement," said Erling Olsen (Social Democrat).

Thus, the lesson learned by the Danish delegation was that Denmark should stay away from ambitious projects in the future. Instead, we should invest in water, health care, and education.

Moreover, Danish businesses cannot compete when large sums of money must be exchanged under the table in order to obtain orders.

"No corrupt regime can take education away from the people," said Kirsten Lee with regard to the future Danish effort.

"Our technology is too far advanced for them anyway. Our future task in education lies not in teaching them to read and write, but to use their hands and their heads in a sensible manner. We must shift the emphasis of our assistance toward meeting their basic needs, such as

health care and education—and let the others fight it out for the cement factories and the harbors," said Erling Olsen (Social Democrat).

A lack of maintenance is a key concern.

"You walk around in filth and decay everywhere and what do you see? People in clean shirts and old, but well pressed safari suits. Most are well groomed. If they would only maintain their factories and houses as well as they do their shirts and skirts, they would be doing quite well," Erling Olsen concluded.

The Danish politicians are not embarrassed by Denmark's previous foreign aid mistakes. Conditions were different then. And we might just as well prepare ourselves for the possibility that many more millions will be wasted in the future, they say.

"It is all right if some things go wrong, that the cement factory does not work. There is no reason to hide the fact that we have made mistakes. If that were so, then we would have missed out on a lot of opportunities because we were afraid to experiment. We have gained a lot of experience," Kirsten Lee said.

Erling Olsen:

Clearly we have made mistakes in the past and clearly we will make some in the future. We just do not know which ones we will make. But we will continue working down there, for it is clear that we have accomplished something and DANIDA has a good name. Nowhere did we see signs painted on the houses saying "DANIDA go home."



**De Klerk's Office 'No Comment' on Jun U.S. Visit***MB1204153490 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1444 GMT 12 Apr 90*

[Text] Cape Town April 12 SAPA—Speculation that the state president, Mr F.W. de Klerk, would visit the United States in June brought a stark "no comment" from spokesman for his office, while foreign affairs spokesman said on Thursday afternoon they could neither confirm nor deny it.

There was no doubt that the president had been invited to visit U.S. President George Bush, nor that Secretary of State James Baker had reinforced that invitation when he and Mr de Klerk met in Windhoek and Cape Town during and after the Namibian independence celebrations, spokesman said.

Equally, dates had been discussed, but as yet there was no indication of exactly when, or how long, his visit would be.

Sources close to Parliament told SAPA that, while June had been among the months discussed for a meeting, it was by no means the only month, nor had any dates been fixed as yet.

The speculation follows hard on the heels of the visit to the president on Thursday morning by a European Community delegation which later met Foreign Minister Pik Botha for more than an hour, later lunched with him and then retired to the Italian Embassy where they met a series of political party and community organisation leaders.

**EC Delegates, Pik Botha Meet Press on Talks***MB1204160990 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1604 GMT 12 Apr 90*

[Text] Cape Town April 12 SAPA—The need for all South Africans to get around the negotiation table as soon as possible was a common denominator in a series of talks a European Community (EC) delegation had in Cape Town on Thursday with groups and individuals ranging from the government to virulently anti-apartheid organisations.

The head of the 15-person EC fact-finding mission, Irish Foreign Minister Mr Gerrard Collins, and South Africa's [SA] minister of foreign affairs, Mr Pik Botha, both told a press conference after their talks that sanctions had not been an issue.

But the president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and representative of the SA Council of Churches, Dr Alan Boesak, told newsmen after he had addressed the delegation at the Italian ambassador's residence, that he had told the mission sanctions should remain in place until there were clear signs the process of negotiation was irreversible in South Africa.

The delegation, which included the Italian secretary of state for foreign affairs, Mrs Susanna Agnelli, and the French secretary of state for international cultural co-operation, Mr Thierry de Bauge, is on a four-day visit to South Africa to appraise themselves of the situation.

It is to report back to the full council of the EC after talking to a wide spectrum of opinion in South Africa.

Thursday's schedule in Cape Town started with talks with the deputy minister of constitutional development, Mr Roelf Meyer (in the absence of Minister Gerrit Viljoen who is overseas); then followed a meeting with the state president, Mr F.W. de Klerk, and Mr Botha; and then separate talks with Mr Botha and three other ministers (Mr Adriaan Vlok, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe and Mr Kent Durr).

A working lunch was held at Mr Botha's residence, after which the delegation went to the Italian ambassador's residence for talks with political and church leaders across the spectrum.

Mr Botha told a press conference after his talks with the delegation that the SA Government was "quite happy" with the way things had gone. The talks had taken place "without inhibition."

The delegation had stressed the need for negotiations in South Africa to "get off the ground."

Mr Botha said neither he nor President de Klerk had raised the sanctions issue although it could have come in discussions between officials. He had taken the opportunity to discuss the "dream" of a southern Africa united politically and economically and "they were certainly not unsympathetic." Mr Botha said he had reminded the delegation that European unity had also been a dream at one state.

Mr Collins said his team had been "very glad to hear from Mr de Klerk about the intentions of his government". They would report back to the EC and future aid could possibly be given to South Africa in such areas as education. Mr Collins said the EC itself was not involved in negotiations—solutions had been found in South Africa.

"We would hope the good relations between Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela will percolate down," he added.

President de Klerk's February 2 announcements had been welcomed and he and his colleagues were on record as having labelled them a step in the right direction. Steps towards negotiation in South Africa had to become "irreversible".

Answering questions from journalists as he was leaving the Italian ambassador's residence, Dr Boesak said there had been a general agreement about the necessity of getting all parties around the negotiation table in South Africa as soon as possible. He and the delegation had "shared in the joy" of the (reinstated) SA Government/ANC talks due for May 2 to 4. He had told the delegation sanctions should remain in place until there were clear

signs that the process of negotiation was irreversible. Free and fair elections in South Africa were a necessity, and he had made the point this was the test the U.S. and Western Europe had set for Eastern Europe—"We want the same standards applied here." The climate for the lifting of sanctions was not yet right.

—The delegation was due to return to Johannesburg on Thursday night for further talks with various groupings and individuals.

On Saturday [14 April] it is due to visit Natal for talks, among others, with KwaZulu's Mangosuthu Buthelezi, before returning to Johannesburg for talks with Nelson Mandela before the delegation's return flight to Europe.

### **Bishops Official Views ANC-Government Talks**

*MB1304134290 Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 1100 GMT 13 Apr 90*

[Text] The leader of the South African Bishops Conference, Archbishop G.F. Daniel, says moral pressure should be applied on the ANC [African National Congress] to persuade the organization to negotiate with the South African Government. He spoke in Johannesburg after meeting the European Community delegation under the chairmanship of the Irish minister of foreign affairs, Mr. Gerard Collins.

He said although economic pressure should be applied to the government, other means had to be found to motivate the ANC. Bishop Daniel said it was a pity that the deputy president of the ANC, Mr. Nelson Mandela, seemed to be losing support, especially among the black youth, as this could delay the talks.

### **PAC Rejects Former Angolan Soldiers in Natal**

*MB1204165190 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1644 GMT 12 Apr 90*

[Excerpt] Harare April 12 SAPA—The Pan-Africanist Congress [PAC] of Azania on Thursday condemned the South African Government's intention to use Angolan forces that fought Namibia and Angola in an attempt to control the strife in Natal, Zimbabwe's ZIANA news agency reports.

The PAC's administrative secretary, Mr Joe Mkwana, said the PAC was for a truce between the warring factions.

However, police intervention and foreign involvement in the Natal conflict would only worsen the situation.

"It is with this in mind that the PAC condemns in the strongest terms the involvement of mercenary Angolan forces and the minority regime's desperate attempt to add fuel to an already bad situation.

"The PAC demands that these mercenaries go back to Angola where they are most needed to bring peace among their own people in their own motherland," he said.

Mr Mkwana called on the feuding people of Natal to stop fighting amongst themselves and to unite to fight against the Angolan mercenaries. [passage omitted]

### **SADF Peacekeeping Units Arrive**

*MB1304050890 Johannesburg SAPA in English 2133 GMT 12 Apr 90*

[Text] Pietermaritzburg April 12 SAPA—Two crack SADF [South African Defense Force] battalions, which have just arrived in Natal, made an impressive show of force on Thursday [12 April] when they paraded through the streets of the city centre on their way out to Edendale to reconnaissance the area.

The Portuguese-speaking 32 Battalion, made up of former FNLA (National Front for the Liberation of Angola) rebels who left Angola to join the SADF when the MPLA took control in 1976, headed the 60-vehicle convoy.

The 300-strong battalion fought in Angola against the MPLA, the Cubans and SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] with great success, making them the most proven troops the SADF has.

They were followed by 61 Mechanised Battalion, which acquired a distinguished fighting record in both Namibia and Angola while stationed in Walvis Bay.

A composition of forces made up of over 1,000 men is now stationed in Pietermaritzburg.

"There are permanent and citizen force members, as well as national servicemen here," said Col Johan Swanepoel, who was transferred from the northern Transvaal to head SADF operations in Pietermaritzburg.

"We are working in close cooperation with the police. Joint teams of policemen and troops are being sent out to restore law and order in the townships," he said.

Asked why it had been thought necessary to bring the two elite battalions to Pietermaritzburg, Col Swanepoel said "we cannot really use troops from this area in their own townships."

A spokesman from Group 9 headquarters said that the transfer of permanent force members to the city was also part of the process of rationalisation within the SADF.

"Citizen force members now only do 30 days and national servicemen one year. Permanent troops, on the other hand, are here indefinitely and can fully acquaint themselves with the situation," he said.

In a joint statement, Mr Mike Tarr and Mr Rob Haswell, Democratic Party members for Pietermaritzburg, welcomed the arrival of additional peacekeeping troops.

However they said it was "a pity that the crisis had to reach such proportions before the necessary action was taken.

"The troops are not here to win any battles," said Mr Tarr on Thursday. "They are here to protect the people."

Pietermaritzburg's acting mayor, Mr Pat Rainer, also welcomed the soldiers to the city and expressed the council's satisfaction that the government had now provided appropriate military forces to end the violence which has plagued Natal for so long.

Meanwhile Natal church leaders, who were part of a delegation which met President F.W. de Klerk on Wednesday, expressed concern that the Angolan combat veterans could heighten tensions in the area if they were not carefully handled.

They fear that if 32 Battalion were to take sides in the conflict, terrible bloodshed could result.

"The tendency of the police has been to regard Inkatha as the law and order grouping. I am afraid that this battalion may have the same indoctrination and brain washing," said the Most Reverend Denis Hurley, Catholic Archbishop of Durban.

Member of the Inkatha Central Committee, Mr Ben Jele, on the other hand, had little doubt that the elite battalions would take a neutral stance in the conflict.

"They don't know the area and they don't speak the language," he said. "They only know their job. It is up to the people now to behave, otherwise there will be a lot of trouble."

#### Department Announces Representative to Namibia

MB1204172890 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1723 GMT 12 Apr 90

[Text] Cape Town April 12 SAPA—Riaan Ecksteen, who was effectively ousted from the seat of SABC's [South African Broadcasting Corporation] director-general about two years ago, has apparently found new favour with the government—in the form of appointment as South Africa's representative to the new Republic of Namibia.

A South African Department of Foreign Affairs spokesman on Thursday made the announcement concerning the new appointment for Mr Ecksteen, who in 1988 was manoeuvred out of the SABC in a management shuffle.

Mr Ecksteen's new title is still unknown.

He will either be ambassador or consular general—the foreign affairs spokesman said the question pertaining to the status of South Africa's representation was being considered by the two countries and would be made known in due course.

#### ANC Official Discusses Policy on Torture

MB1204163890 Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL  
in English 12-19 Apr 90 p 2

[By Gavin Evans]

[Text] The African National Congress [ANC] has responded to allegations that it tortured dissident members by stressing it has a code of conduct which forbids such practices and that it "no longer" has detention centres.

Senior ANC members said yesterday the code strictly prohibits torture "under any circumstance" in response to allegations in a British newspaper that Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation, ANC military wing] members were detained and tortured after taking part in military revolts in the early 1980s.

ANC National Executive Committee member Anthony Mongalo told the WEEKLY MAIL the men had been held until two years ago, when a general amnesty was granted.

"I must stress that those who were held had been involved in a mutiny in the camps in Angola in 1984, in which several of our people were killed. They were held and taken for rehabilitation until about two years ago, when an amnesty was granted by our president Oliver Tambo."

Mongalo said that several of those involved in the revolt had since been taken to Sweden to further their education, while others had "gone their own way."

A code of conduct, reported to have been drawn up by a team led by ANC legal specialist Albie Sachs, was adopted at the ANC's Kabwe conference in 1985.

"We have a very strong policy which outlaws all forms of torture and physical coercion under any circumstances. This is being vigorously applied."

"Since our camps were moved from Angola over a year ago we have had no detention camps in Angola or anywhere else," said Mongalo.

The allegations, published last week in the SUNDAY CORRESPONDENT, were made by seven former Umkhonto we Sizwe members now living in Kenya. They say they were refused help by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and now want to be repatriated to South Africa after having resigned from the ANC.

The men appealed to Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu to help their repatriation.

The seven were reported by the CORRESPONDENT to have been involved in a mutiny in the camps in 1984. Among their grievances was a view that "excesses" were being committed by ANC security personnel and that conditions within the camps were not satisfactory, a belief that Umkhonto we Sizwe fighters should not be



taking part in the war against UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] and a desire for more members to be sent to South Africa on military expedition.

The CORRESPONDENT said the men's problems began in 1981 when a SA [South Africa] security police spy network within the movement was uncovered. This was followed by a crackdown and the enforcement of strict disciplinary proceedings for offences such as drinking spirits and smoking dagga.

A brigade of 4,000 Umkhonto we Sizwe soldiers, led by Chris Hani, is reported to have fought with considerable success against UNITA on the eastern front. But, as their casualties mounted, discontent rose and in late 1983 some ANC soldiers refused to return to the front.

In December 1983 a revolt broke out at the Viana camp in Angola, after which the rebels were disarmed and sent to the Quibaxe and Pango camps in northern Angola.

According to the CORRESPONDENT, there was a mutiny at the Pango camp in 1984 in which five "ANC loyalists", including camp commissar Zenzile "Phungulwa and staff commissar Willie Sithole, were killed.

Five days later the camp was recaptured and seven rebels were executed by firing squad, while others were captured, detained in Quatro and other camps, and some were tortured and accused of being South African agents. Others were released. According to the allegations, several of the detainees died in the camps as a result of torture and assaults.

They say the survivors were released on humanitarian grounds on November 16, 1988 and were allowed to rejoin the ANC, but discontent continued within the Tanzanian camps.

Earlier this week, Henry Chiliza, ANC deputy chief representative in East Africa was reported by SAPA to have confirmed that the seven men had been "isolated" for four years and then pardoned and freed in 1988.

He said they had committed treason by mutinying and killing Umkhonto officers.

ANC Spokesman Tom Sebina told the WEEKLY MAIL he could not comment on the specific allegations made in the CORRESPONDENT until the ANC leadership had had a chance to study the full text of the article.

#### **AZAPO Denies "To Be Swallowed" by ANC**

MB1204162990 Johannesburg SOWETAN in English  
12 Apr 90 p 3

[By Themba Molefe]

[Text] The Azanian People's Organisation [AZAPO] has rejected as misleading media reports that it was about to be swallowed by the ANC [African National Congress] and was a wing of the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress]. In a statement released by its publicity secretary, Mr Strini

Moodley, AZAPO also denied it was being manipulated by the ANC. "We seek to correct some of the misconceptions that have been created by stories written in several newspapers, including SOWETAN, SUNDAY TIMES, and THE SUNDAY STAR.

"Our meetings with the ANC have centred primarily around the violence being perpetrated by their members against ours. We have called on the ANC in these meetings to bring an end to the violence and to work together with us in ending it," he said.

AZAPO said the most crucial of these meetings took place at the house of Mr Kaiser Motaung in Soweto on the night of April 7. Eight members of the ANC, led by deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, and seven AZAPO delegates, led by president Mr Jerry Mosala, had attended.

The meeting established an interim two-man committee - Mandela and Mosala - to meet other organisations within the liberation movement such as the PAC, New Unity Movement and trade union federation COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Union] and NACTU [National Council of Trade Unions] to discuss inter-ethnic political violence.

On its relations with the PAC, AZAPO referred to an article which appeared in the SUNDAY TIMES on April 8.

It said the article perpetuated a mistaken belief prevalent among political commentators, analysts and journalists, that AZAPO was part of the PAC.

The organisation said it has never been an affiliate of the PAC and that its central committee had no links with the PAC.

#### **Delegates Gather for 'First Legal' Youth Congress**

MB1304111090 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
0848 GMT 13 Apr 90

[By John Rees]

[Text] Likasi, kaNgwane April 13 SAPA—Over 1,000 youths from 600 youth congresses all over South Africa [SA] have gathered at Likasi township in kaNgwane for the first legal congress of the SA Youth Congress (SAYCO) over the Easter weekend.

Foreign delegates include a member of the U.S. based Young Socialists Alliance, and a representative of Sweden's ruling social democrats Youth League.

Cuban, Soviet and Nicaraguan delegates scheduled to participate in the congress were apparently refused entry visas to South Africa.

A delegation from the ANC [African National Congress] youth section failed to arrive at the congress, apparently through lack of clarity on "indemnity" being granted by government to returning exiles.

ANC Deputy President Mr Nelson Mandela is scheduled to deliver the keynote address when the congress gets under way on Friday [13 April] morning.

The last youth organisation to speak to the ANC before they were unbanned on February 2—the predominantly Afrikaans Youth for SA (Jeugkrag)—are also represented as guests at the congress.

The key issue on the agenda will be discussions on uniting SAYCO and the ANC youth section.

Also on the agenda are discussions on negotiations, Natal violence and the situation in Eastern Europe.

SAYCO was launched secretly in Cape Town in March 1987 by youths from various regions—many of whom were on the run from the SA Police.

### 13 Apr Press Review on Current Problems, Issues MB1304072490

[Editorial Report]

#### THE NATAL WITNESS

ANC's Policy Increasingly 'Less Clear' —“The policy of the ANC [African National Congress] seems less clear by the day,” writes Pietermaritzburg THE NATAL WITNESS in English on 4 April in a page 10 editorial. “Vacillating, unpredictable, ad hoc: these words describe the ANC and point to a certain amorphousness within its leadership. Collective leadership can, it seems, be a handicap, especially to an organisation seeking credibility as a political force with a future governing role.” “The ANC would be more impressive if the buck, instead of circulating vaguely all over the place, could be seen to stop firmly in one pair of hands.”

#### \* SADF Operations in Angola, Namibia 1914-1988

90EF0310A Pretoria MILITARIA in Afrikaans  
Vol 19 No 2, 1989 pp 5-18

[Article by Col C.J. Nothling of the DOB publication section: “Short History of Military Operations and Actions in South-West Africa and Angola (1914-1988)”]

[Text] Introduction

The adoption of Resolution 435 by the United Nations (UN) Security Council in September 1978 paved the way for an independent South-West Africa/Namibia (SWA). Despite optimistic projections that SWA would quickly become independent, the implementation of Resolution 435 has been delayed by more than a decade.

In the ensuing decade, South African forces have launched various military precautionary operations against the bases of SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] terrorists in Angola. During this same period, the Angolan civil war, which started in 1975, continued to rage on obstinately. The military

scenario in southwestern Africa was further rounded out by the buildup of Cuban forces and of large quantities of weaponry in Angola. The end of hostilities was clearly one of the most important stumbling blocks in the establishment of a peaceful, constitutional system in SWA. This was achieved with the signing of the three-party and bilateral agreements at the United Nations in New York on 22 December 1988.

After the signing of these agreements, South African Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha noted that the heavy losses that the South African forces had inflicted on the enemy (forces of the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] administration and Cuban troops) at the Lomba River in southeastern Angola (Operation Moduler, 1987) were the turning point leading to the three-party agreement.

Diplomacy clearly played an important role in the constitutional development process of SWA. At the same time, it is scarcely possible to ignore the effect that military factors had on political developments in SWA. This article offers a military-historical perspective on South Africa's involvement in southwestern Africa, which began with the invasion of German South-West Africa by Union forces in 1914.

#### First World War

In 1914, after the outbreak of the First World War, South Africa (SA) first became involved in SWA when an expeditionary force of 67,000 men was mobilized, upon request by Great Britain, to capture the territory from Germany. In the course of the campaign in German South-West Africa, the South African forces brought the German forces to surrender within six months, after suffering the loss of only 266 men. The area of 825,000 square kilometers was temporarily placed under South African military rule.

Military rule in SWA was ended on 17 December 1920 when the area was placed under SA administration by the League of Nations, in keeping with the mandate system.

#### The Bondelswarts Rebellion (1922)

The next operational action by the Union Defense Force in SWA took place in 1922, when the Bondelswarts tribe, under Captain Jacobus Christian, rebelled because the government refused to agree to their demands concerning the borders of their reserve. After the tribal captain refused to hand over a number of his followers who were guilty of misconduct and stealing, a force of 400 men was raised in SWA. The assistance of the South African Air Force was enlisted to end the rebellion. The rebels, who suffered heavy losses in fighting at Drieheok and Berg Kanmer, were finally brought to surrender on 2 June 1922, by which time the Air Force had flown 105 operational hours without any losses. More than 100 rebels were dead, while only two members of the security forces had been killed. The Air Force was also used

successfully in 1932 to suppress unrest in northern SWA that was incited by tribal chief Ipumbu.

#### **Military Action in 1925 and 1933**

In April 1925, the Rehoboth mulattoes rebelled, and the government decided to send three airplanes of the South African Air Force to SWA. On 4 April, the airplanes took off from Louisvale and flew to the Rehoboth area by way of Keetmanshoop. Air operations against the rebels began the following day, and were successfully completed within several hours. After this, air operations were undertaken in other areas as well.

In July 1932, the government in SWA experienced problems with the chief of the Ukuambi tribe. Three airplanes from the South African Air Force and two armored cars were sent from Pretoria to Ovamboland, and the tribal chief was forced to surrender.

#### **Second World War (1939-1945)**

After Adolf Hitler took power in Germany, the influence of the Nazi party increased in SWA as well. During the 1930s, Hitler openly insisted on the return of previously German colonies. During the term of Dr D.G. Conradie, militant Nazi organizations caused a great deal of unrest in SWA. This forced the government to take action, and by the end of 1939, 150 Nazi-oriented leaders had already been interned. By October 1940, 1,200 German-speakers were in internment camps.

#### **First Armed Clashes With SWAPO (1966-1968)**

In 1965, the South-West African People's Organization (SWAPO), which had been founded in 1958 as the Ovamboland People's Congress (OPC), decided to launch terrorist attacks in SWA. SWAPO terrorists from the organization's military wing, PLAN (People's Liberation Army of Namibia), infiltrated Ovamboland and set up a base at Ongulumbashe.

On 26 August 1966, a police force destroyed the camp in a surprise attack. Two terrorists were killed, and nine prisoners were taken. That same year, three other terrorist groups crossed the border into SWA and took up activities in Ovamboland. In an incident in September 1966, the border town of Oshikango came under fire. In March 1967, a police patrol in the western Caprivi was lured into an ambush, but virtually all the terrorists in question were later killed or captured. In May 1967, SWAPO suffered another setback when its supreme commander, Tobias Hanyeko, was killed during a skirmish along the Zambezi River.

Over the course of the next 10 months, further successes against the terrorists were achieved, and by April 1968, the security situation had improved to such a degree that the SA Police was able to withdraw its counterinsurgency personnel from SWA. That same year, 20 SWAPO leaders, including Herman Toivo ja Toivo, were sentenced to life imprisonment for violation of the Terrorism Act.

In October 1968, however, two major terrorist groups began to again engage in activities in Ovambo. A total of 56 terrorists were captured within one week after their arrival in Ovambo, and after this PLAN began once again to act in smaller groups.

#### **State of Emergency and Entry of the SA Army (1972-1974)**

An extensive strike in SWA resulted in January 1972 in the imposition of a state of emergency in SWA's northern areas. At the same time, units of the South African Defense Force (SADF) were sent in to help maintain law and order.

In January 1973, a new offensive of terrorist attacks was initiated. In one incident, a police camp was subjected to concentrated automatic weapon fire. The increase in terrorist activity resulted in the assumption of the task of counterinsurgency by the SA Army that same year.

#### **Operation Savannah (1975-1976)**

In 1974, the end of Portuguese rule in Angola was already in sight. The unstable security situation in Angola and the threat that this posed for SWA led to the deployment of a South African protection force of only around 2,000 men in SWA's northern frontier area. This force, which supported the FNLA [National Front for the Liberation of Angola] and UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola], was confronted with significantly greater numbers of Cuban and MPLA forces; despite this, it achieved brilliant victories. In a "blitzkrieg," Task Force Zulu captured the southwestern corner of Angola, after Pereira de Eca, Rocades and various other towns were taken.

In central Angola, Combat Group Foxbat defeated the enemy at Liumbala in October 1975. Following this, Task Force Zulu achieved further victories at Cacula and Catengue. The victories at Catengue in November 1975 forced the enemy to evacuate the Benguela front.

The victory of Task Force Zulu and Combat Group Foxbat at the battle of Bridge 14 on the central front is well-known. The battle occurred after the South African forces had advanced to Quibala. However, they had to cross the Nhia River at Bridge 14 (which had been destroyed by enemy forces), and it was here that engineer troops rebuilt the bridge amidst heavy fighting. After this, the bridge could be crossed and the march on Cassamba and Almeida could be continued. After the capture of these towns, the South African forces were ordered not to continue with the attack on Quibala.

In January 1976, the South African forces received orders to disband, and on 25 January 1976 withdrawal was finalized. Citizens force units, which had been deployed in southern Angola as four combat groups to protect the Calueque/Ruacana water project and refugee camp, left Angola on 27 March 1976.



**Operation Reindeer (1978)**

After the withdrawal of South African forces from Angola in 1976, PLAN (which had been held in check during Operation Savannah) was able to establish an extensive network of training and base camps in southern Angola, from which it could infiltrate SWA.

An increase in terrorism by SWAPO as a result of its easy access to Ovambo via Angola's open southern frontier forced South Africa to initiate a policy of precautionary operations.

This decision resulted in a series of semi-conventional operations against primary SWAPO base areas and facilities in southern Angola. The first operation of that type—Reindeer—was launched on 4 May 1978, and consisted of an air and paratrooper attack on SWAPO's most important training and logistical support base at Cassinga (known as "Moscow") and a ground attack by a mechanized force on various forward transitional bases in the border area, including an extensive complex (known as "Vietnam") near Chetequera, 28 km north of the border.

Nearly a thousand terrorists died, and two hundred were captured, while only six members of the security force were killed. Large quantities of equipment and stores were destroyed, and valuable documents were seized.

The loss of trained personnel and the effect of the intelligence obtained by the security forces constituted a major setback for SWAPO, from which it would never fully recover.

**Operations in Eastern Caprivi (1978)**

In June 1978, it was determined that SWAPO was working on preparations for an attack on the military bases at Katimo Mulilo, Wenela and Mapacha. In order to resist these attacks, two combat teams, Alpha and Bravo, were established.

The attack began on 23 August with a long-distance shelling of Katimo Mulilo with 122 mm rockets. One of them penetrated the roof of a barracks and killed 10 soldiers.

After an artillery and mortar battle was over, the two combat teams crossed the border. Combat team Bravo's target was a SWAPO base around 30 km from the border in Zambia, but it was found deserted, so the combat team returned to Mapacha without completing its mission. Combat team Alpha succeeded in overtaking the rearguard of a number of fleeing terrorists, but it was drawn into an ambush. In the ensuing battle, five terrorists were killed while around 60 fled. In a later skirmish at a terrorist base, seven terrorists died.

On 25 August, combat teams Alpha, Bravo and Charlie Papa (which comprised a support paratrooper company, a company of 31 Battalion and a troop of 140 mm guns) again crossed the border into Zambia and advanced on terrorist bases at Imusho, Cinzenbela and elsewhere, but

everything had already been evacuated. The only noteworthy incident took place at Cinzenbela, when the local garrison fired on a South African Air Force helicopter with an anti-aircraft gun. It was shot out by combat team Bravo. The combat teams returned across the border on 27 August.

**Operations Safraan and Rekstok (1979)**

The next two major operations—Safraan and Rekstok—were launched early in March 1979. Both operations were necessitated by the presence of large numbers of SWAPO terrorists in Zambia, who were busy with preparations to attack targets in SWA.

During Operation Safraan, which took place in four phases, various SWAPO bases in the vicinity of Sinjembele and the Njinje forest in Zambia were attacked and destroyed. SWAPO wisely decided not to fight back and to evacuate its bases in Zambia before they could be attacked. During Operation Rekstok, terrorist bases at Muongo, Oncua, Henhombe Heque and elsewhere in Angola were attacked.

**Operation Sceptic and Klipkop (1980)**

Operation Sceptic began in June 1980 as a lightning attack on a SWAPO base in southern Angola, but developed into a extensive operation as more and more SWAPO supply depots were discovered in the area. Operation Sceptic brought with it the first serious clashes with the Angolan forces, FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola]. This was also the first contact with mechanized elements of SWAPO. SWAPO lost its forward base facilities while 380 terrorists died. Several hundred tons of equipment and stores, as well as numerous vehicles, were seized by the security forces. Of the attacking South African forces, 17 members were killed.

Operation Klipkop (June 1980) was much smaller in scope and was intended to dislocate SWAPO's forward logistical support system.

**Operations Carnation and Protea (1981)**

The clashes with FAPLA in Operation Sceptic were the prelude to further clashes during Operations Carnation and Protea in July and August 1981. Because of its defeats in 1980, SWAPO had moved its bases further north and positioned them near to and even among FAPLA bases in order to discourage attacks by the SA security forces. SWAPO's logistical system had also become virtually inseparably intertwined with that of FAPLA.

By mid-1981, the military situation in SWA's northern frontier area had undergone a serious change. The stockpiling of large quantities of weapons and the buildup of FAPLA and SWAPO forces in southern Angola represented a significant conventional threat to SWA. In July 1981, various skirmishes between the security forces and PLAN took place. On 6 July, the commanding general of

the SWA Territorial Force announced that 52 terrorists had been killed over the course of only 4 days of fighting with the security forces. This sharp increase in skirmishes with SWAPO terrorists forced the security forces to launch Operation Carnation.

Although 225 terrorists were killed during this operation, it was only a partial success. The security forces did not move any further than 25 kilometers north of the border, while the larger terrorist bases were located further north.

During this period, FAPLA itself assumed a more provocative position towards the security forces. Its air defense system represented a decided threat to South African support operations during Operation Protea.

During Operation Protea, various SWAPO bases and command posts in the vicinity of Xangongo and Ongiva were attacked and wiped out by three task forces. This began on 23 August 1981 with an air attack on a FAPLA radar station and key position in the Angolan air defense system.

On 24 August, the ground forces began their advance towards Xangongo via three separate routes. A mechanized force attacked bases near the town where the headquarters of SWAPO's northwestern front was located. At the same time, other elements of SWAPO bases to the south and southeast of the town were wiped out. Xangongo was isolated and cut off from any possibility of intervention by FAPLA forces coming from Humbe and Peu Peu in the northwest and northeast, respectively. The mixed force of SWAPO/FAPLA defenders was driven back after a short assault on the tanks and infantry that were entrenched in and around the town.

After FAPLA and SWAPO had been driven out of Xangongo, the main force moved to the east and south, pushing the FAPLA force at Mongua out of its way. The attack on Ongiva took place on 26 August 1981, and the town was taken on 28 August after another joint SWAPO/FAPLA force entrenched in and around the town was defeated. Various Soviet officers were killed during this battle, while a Russian adjutant officer was taken prisoner. SWAPO facilities in and around Ongiva were subsequently destroyed, and the operation was brought to a close on 10 September 1981.

Operation Protea was the largest mechanized operation by the SA Army since the end of the Second World War. In that operation, the security forces lost 10 men, compared to the more than 1,000 casualties suffered by SWAPO and FAPLA. The approximately 4,000 tons of equipment that was seized included numerous tanks and armored cars, a large number of anti-aircraft guns, and around 200 logistical vehicles.

#### Operation Daisy (1981)

Operation Protea emerged from the intelligence gained on previous operations, and it in turn yielded intelligence which led to the next major operation—Daisy—which began on 1 November 1981. A mechanized force penetrated to the deepest point since the Angolan civil war. Targets at Bambi and Cheraquera were attacked. Although there were no clashes with FAPLA ground forces, a couple of MiG-21 airplanes fought with the SA Air Force, and one of them was shot down by a Mirage. Operation Daisy was ended on 20 November 1981.

#### Operation Super (1982)

Early in 1982, it became clear that SWAPO was preparing to open up a new front in Kaokoland. Reconnaissance units from 32 Battalion were sent in to track down any SWAPO terrorists who might infiltrate the area. Approximately 250 terrorists were encountered in a gathering place near the village of Iona in southwestern Angola, from whence they intended to infiltrate SWA. Subsequently, 75 soldiers were flown into the area to undertake a lightning attack. Thirty soldiers were deployed as stopper groups, while the main force of 45 men directed the launching of the attack. Although the terrorists enjoyed a significant advantage in terms of numbers, they were completely surprised and overwhelmed; a total of 201 terrorists were killed, while only two men from 32 Battalion were slightly wounded. A large quantity of ammunition and weapons was seized.

#### Operation Meebos (1982)

Operation Meebos was conducted in July and August 1982, and consisted of a number of air attacks on SWAPO's command and control system. A total of 345 terrorists were killed, and SWAPO's so-called "eastern front" headquarters at Mupa was destroyed before it could be moved. The security forces lost 29 soldiers, 15 of whom died in an incident where a Puma helicopter was shot down, killing all on board.

#### Operation Phoenix (1983)

In the first half of February 1983, SWAPO conducted a new offensive in an attempt to regain its lost esteem. A special unit of approximately 1,700 terrorists, divided into various companies, began on 13 February to infiltrate Ovambo, and the first major contact took place on 15 February, when 15 terrorists were killed. The security forces' counteraction (Operation Phoenix) was extremely successful, and by the end of the operation on 13 April 1983, 309 SWAPO terrorists had already been killed. The security forces lost 27 men.

#### Operation Askari (1983)

By the end of 1983, it had become clear that SWAPO was planning a large-scale infiltration for early 1984. Operation Askari, which was primarily intended to dislocate PLAN's logistical infrastructure and command

and control system by way of various air and ground attacks, was launched on 6 December 1983. Although the attacks were aimed at PLAN, FAPLA forces became involved in the fighting, and various clashes with Angolans followed.

Four mechanized combat groups of 500 men each attacked specific targets, while smaller infantry groups conducted territorial operations in the border area.

The largest clash between SA forces and FAPLA took place on 3 January 1984 when FAPLA's 11th Brigade and two Cuban battalions hurried to SWAPO's assistance when its headquarters and base five kilometers from Cuvelai were attacked. However, this force was driven back after it lost 324 men; most of the security forces' 21 casualties in Operation Askari were suffered during this clash.

Operation Askari came to an end on 13 January 1984. The withdrawal of SA forces was delayed by heavy rain and flooding. The most important consequence of Operation Askari was that it forced Angola to conduct talks with SA in Lusaka on suspending hostilities in southern Angola.

Talks were held in Lusaka, and in February 1984 the Lusaka Accord was concluded, according to which a Joint Monitoring Commission would monitor the withdrawal of South African troops from Angola. Angola agreed to see to it that no SWAPO terrorists or Cuban forces would enter the areas evacuated by SA forces. However, the withdrawal of SA forces proceeded slowly, and was not completed until April 1985.

#### **Operation Boswilger (1985)**

After the withdrawal of security forces from Angola in April 1985, SWAPO terrorists exploited the situation and once again began to operate across the border from bases in Angola. The security forces were compelled to take action.

During Operation Boswilger, which began on 29 June 1985 and lasted only 48 hours, the tracks of SWAPO terrorists were followed to their bases in three different areas of Angola. On the first day, 43 terrorists were killed and one was captured in 23 contacts. On the second day, 14 terrorists were killed and four were captured in 13 contacts. After this, the security forces returned across the border.

#### **Operation Moduler and Operation Hooper (1987-1988)**

South African forces provided military support to the UNITA resistance movement during Operation Moduler (1 July-15 December 1987) in order to halt the advance of FAPLA forces to Mavinga and Jamba south of the Lomba River.

The FAPLA forces in central-eastern Angola did well initially, but were eventually defeated by UNITA and forced to retreat. FAPLA's southerly offensive from Cuito Cuanavale began on 14 August 1987 with six

brigades. Intelligence indicated that FAPLA had deployed a large number of armored vehicles around Cuito Cuanavale. A South African team was appended to UNITA to help prepare the resistance movement's anti-tank strategy. The South African forces would also provide air and artillery support if necessary.

The FAPLA forces did well despite the fact that UNITA had obstructed its rear logistical support. The deployment of the South African mechanized force kept FAPLA from crossing the Lomba River, and in its attempt to establish a bridgehead its brigades suffered considerable losses. In the battles on 13 and 14 September, UNITA lost 40 and the South African support force six soldiers, compared to the 382 of the FAPLA forces.

The worst clash took place on 3 October, when FAPLA was dealt a crushing defeat. Afterwards, the remnants of FAPLA's forces joined the remaining brigades north of the river. FAPLA subsequently retreated to the Cuito Cuanavale area.

At this point, FAPLA was still capable of launching a new offensive. UNITA and the South African support force thus could not withdraw, and orders were given that all FAPLA brigades east of the Cuito River be destroyed or driven back. The Cuito River subsequently had to be transformed into an ambush for FAPLA.

The replenishment of stores and air support for the FAPLA forces were further restricted, and their headquarters was forced to retreat to Nancova. Between 9 and 16 November, the South African force was involved in another major clash in the vicinity of the Chaminga and Humbe River. In these battles, 16 South African soldiers were killed, while FAPLA lost 525 men and a large quantity of weaponry. Operation Moduler was brought to an end in mid-December 1987, and succeeded by Operation Hooper.

After Operation Moduler, additional FAPLA forces were shifted to Cuito Cuanavale, and according to UNITA, FAPLA now had over 25,000 men. The South African force made effective use of G-5 guns to drive this concentration of FAPLA forces west and north. Since FAPLA remained a threat, the South Africans continued to support UNITA in its attempt to get the FAPLA forces out of the area between the Cuatir and Chaminga Rivers.

FAPLA's 21st Brigade, which was deployed along the Cuatir River, was driven out of the area on 13 January 1988. There were no losses on the South African side, but FAPLA had to give up another 250 men and a large quantity of weapons. On 14 February, an attack on FAPLA's 59th Brigade was launched, and after an unsuccessful FAPLA counterattack, in which the enemy lost, among other things, 230 men and nine tanks, that brigade was forced to retreat.

UNITA, supported by the South African support force, attacked the positions of FAPLA's 21st, 25th and 59th



Brigades on 25 February at the Tumpo River and Dala. These attacks, during which FAPLA suffered considerable losses, meant that the FAPLA forces were effectively cornered in a predetermined area near Cuito Cuanavale and that the area could be transformed into an ambush. After this, the South African forces continued with tactical decoupling, which had already begun in December 1987.

The intervention in Angola by South African forces during these operations averted a large-scale FAPLA victory over UNITA and deprived SWAPO of access to the northeastern part of SWA. The South African task force's losses were slight: 31 South African soldiers and 12 members of the SWA Territorial Force. In contrast, FAPLA lost more than 7,000 men and a large quantity of weapons.

#### **Operations Packer and Displace (1988)**

During Operation Packer, which succeeded Operation Hooper in March 1988, 82 Mechanized Brigade (which largely consists of members of the Citizens Force) continued to protect the eastern bank of the Cuito River. During this operation, FAPLA forces once again suffered heavy losses, and the situation on the eastern bank stabilized to such an extent that it was possible to begin Operation Displace. During this phase, the South African forces withdrew from Angola.

#### **Conflict at Calueque (1988)**

On 27 June, a joint FAPLA-Cuban force launched first a ground attack and then an insidious air attack using MiG combat aircraft on the Calueque water project. The ground attack was halted by a protection force from the SADF and the SWA Territorial Force. Twelve SA soldiers, as well as more than 300 Cubans and Angolans, were killed in the two skirmishes.

This conflict nearly sabotaged negotiations on terminating hostilities and implementing UN Resolution 435 in SWA.

#### **Conclusion**

On 2 August 1988, during talks in Geneva, South Africa presented a number of peace proposals. First of all, these proposals provided for a halt to all hostilities in the area beginning on 10 August 1988. Secondly, the withdrawal of foreign forces from Angola was to be initiated immediately. South Africa ventured that the withdrawal of its forces would be complete on 1 September 1988.

On 22 August 1988, the military representatives of the RSA, Angola and Cuba signed a treaty at Ruacana providing for the cessation of hostilities.

On 1 September 1988, the withdrawal of South African forces from Angola was complete. The end of the military struggle in SWA was already in sight.

Further talks during the second half of 1988 finally resulted in the signing of two important agreements on

22 December 1988 in New York. The three-party agreement between the RSA, Cuba and the MPLA administration provided for the implementation of Resolution 435 of the UN Security Council and the withdrawal of South African forces from SWA during the period from 1 April 1989 until SWA becomes independent. Secondly, a bilateral agreement between Cuba and Angola provided for the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola over a period of 27 months. These agreements paved the way for a peaceful settlement in southwestern Africa.

SWAPO lost the so-called "bush war" that began in 1966 at Ungulumbashe in western Ovambo. The organization was unable to win a single major armed conflict with the security forces. Thus, its ideal of coming to power in SWA through revolutionary force failed.

The price that SWAPO had to pay for its failed revolutionary assault was a high one: from this first skirmish on 26 August 1966 until the end of 1988, 11,335 terrorists died in battles with the security forces.

Since 1978 (when the first precautionary operation was conducted), SWAPO's manpower situation has continually deteriorated. In 1978, it still had approximately 16,000 trained terrorists at its disposal, but over the course of the next nine years this figure dropped to 8,700 (December 1987). In 1988, SWAPO's manpower situation was further weakened.

The successes of the security forces' operations against SWAPO bases over the past 10 years has also had a significant effect on terrorist activities in SWA. Although the annual number of terrorist incidents increased from 462 in 1978 to 1,175 in 1980, after that point it declined to 483 in 1987.

For South Africa, the withdrawal of its forces from SWA does not constitute humiliation or defeat. The South African forces have emerged from the struggle as the victor, having successfully completed their mission: They have protected SWA and its inhabitants and kept SWAPO from assuming control in SWA through revolutionary force. The RSA's military capabilities have contributed significantly to greater stability and peace in southwestern Africa.

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**\* PAM Secretary General Discusses Organization**  
34000486C Braamfontein WORK IN PROGRESS  
in English Jan 90 pp 29-31

[Interview with Pan Africanist Movement Secretary General Benny Alexander]

[Text] Just two months before the legalisation of the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), Africanism re-established for itself a voice in South African politics—the Pan-Africanist Movement (PAM).

Sharing many of PAC's policies and principles, for what appear to be largely tactical reasons linked to PAC's status as an unlawful organisation, PAM claimed no direct organisational link between the two.

This is despite the presence as keynote speaker at PAM's launch of PAC president Zephania Mothopeng and agreement between the two organisations on a joint approach to international forums.

With PAC's legalisation close links, or an actual merger, are likely.

In an interview conducted before De Klerk lifted the ban on the older organisation, PAM general secretary Benny Alexander outlined the movement's policies and plans. (He has not been available since PAC's legalisation).

[WORK IN PROGRESS] How is PAM constituted?

PAM is quasi-federal. We have both affiliate organisations and card-carrying members.

The most important affiliates are the youth affiliate, Azanian National Youth Unity (Azanyu), the Pan-Africanist Student Organisation (Paso), the African Women's Organisation (AWO) and the African Labour Co-ordinating Committee (Alcoc). Those are the national affiliates, the four pillars represented on the national executive.

What is Alcoc?

That structure is a different kettle of fish. It is a purely workers' thing. It coordinates the activities of the workers politically. It does not do any trade union work, it does only political education with workers. It brings them towards the movement, informs them of events and of their role and things like that. The workers join directly as members of PAM, they do not affiliate through Alcoc.

What is your total membership?

We have card-carrying membership, we aren't talking of the political football fans here. But because we were launched on the eve of the Christmas break and people were moving out, it was difficult to launch the branches, so it is only now that the branches are being launched. Only once that has happened, will I be able to give exact figures.

We are all over the country, there is hardly an area which was not represented at our launching congress.

What are your policies?

The pillars of our policies are African nationalism, scientific socialism and continental unity.

The economic policy is of course socialism, a planned economy within the context of a political democracy. We believe that totalitarianism is not inherent in a planned economy.

And programme of action?

Launching the branches and regions is *the* item at the moment.

But we believe our programme of action should unfold step-by-step. We talk of an unfolding programme so that you have a long-term programme that you unfold as time goes on, with one action leading to another but in a set pattern which you only reveal one step at a time to the people.

After our special congress at the end of February we will be revealing the first step.

But what is it now?

We will continue where we have started, to popularise our own position...not difficult because it is in line with the aspirations of the oppressed.

One of the most amazing phenomena is the fact that the Pan-Africanists are not just the fastest growing political tendency, they are the only ones actually growing. Others are just trying to keep what they have.

The whole question of collaboration, with homeland leaders in events such as the CDF, does not go down well with the young militants in the townships.

What is your attitude to other organisations?

We are a Pan-Africanist organisation. Pan-Africanism has adherents all over the world. We share an ideology with many organisations, including PAC.

Most of our affiliates have been legal organisations for some time—Azanyu since 1981, AWO since 1986 and so on.

Now we share an ideology with PAC. The only difference between ourselves and PAC is the military. We don't have a military wing.

PAC believes that the armed struggle for the seizure of state power is the principal method of struggle. Ours is political struggle.

If PAC was legal there would have been no point in establishing PAM?

Not necessarily. If PAC was not banned, you could speculate on that, but at this point PAM is the only legal structure.

PAC has had no input on our formation. In terms of attitude, I think you can read that by the fact that PAC president Zephania Mothopeng consulted with the interim committee and opened the launching congress.

(Since then), the PAM executive has not had consultation with PAC. If they invite us, which we hope they will, we will meet them. The Zimbabwean government has established a special fund for that.

Nactu has defined us as an ally together with the Black Consciousness Movement and the New Unity Movement. We have accepted that from them.

We have not yet gone out to forge any alliances. But we have taken a decision at our launching congress that we will help to unite all forces which want to bring about fundamental social change.

And which are they?

We do not define the forces, we define the problem as the return of our land, self-rule and one-person, one-vote in a unitary state without checks and balances. Whoever feels they stand for these things, can join hands with us.

We regard the United Democratic Front and ANC as sister organisations, but their friends are not necessarily our friends.

What about negotiations?

We have never said we are against negotiations. We have put our positions, but because it is assumed by the media that these are not easily agreeable to the government, the journalists therefore say we are against negotiations.

We are prepared to negotiate two issues. One, the question of ownership of resources, of which land is primary. Two, the question of liberty, one-person, one-vote in a unitary state without checks and balances for groups. Once the government is in principle prepared to negotiate on these items we will be prepared to talk about them.

Unlike the ANC, we do not make a distinction between a climate, pre-conditions and an agenda. These two items constitute for us our climate, our pre-conditions, our agenda, our everything.

In all negotiated settlements, talks continued while the war was still raging—in Zimbabwe, in Namibia, everywhere.

Those other issues, like for example lifting of the state of emergency, the return of exiles, troops out of the township, do not have anything to do with the infra- or superstructure. One cannot negotiate measures of repression, it is very ridiculous.

We say that to reduce the measures of repression does not necessarily mean there is change in infra- or superstructure. The government can accede to those things and leave apartheid, land dispossession and oppression intact.

Let us talk about the real things and all these other things will fall into place.

But we have been informed by history that when an oppressor stares his doom in the face, it is then that he calls a face-saving conference to give you at the conference table what you are about to win in the context of struggle.

Such conditions do not prevail at the moment.

You refer extensively to 'the return of the land'...

The status quo came about because of the wars of dispossession in which the land was taken from the African people. There must be decolonisation, the land must be returned to its rightful owners.

But this is a fairly advanced economy, with a minority reliant on the land.

The land to us is not confined to a peasant understanding of the land. It implies the means of production, the totality of the resources.

Factories, financial institutions?

Everything. When the wars of dispossession were fought, they were fought over all resources, not just grazing.

So you are contemplating nationalisation on a large scale—for example of Anglo-American?

Definitely. All big business in this country. There will be room for private initiatives, people will be able to own a house, a car, even to engage in small family business, provided there is no exploitation accompanying such enterprises.

We are not going to nationalise the boerewors trolley on the street corner. But big industries which go to the heart of the economy and such things like that will have to be subjected to a planned economy so that everybody is benefitted by that.

Subject to the dictates of a planned economy or owned by the state?

Owned by the state on behalf of the people as a whole.

And compensation?

We are having a special congress in February when issues like this will be debated, so I am not prepared yet to say whether we will compensate big business. But in broad terms, we are talking about the return of wealth to the people as a whole.

Your statements refer to 'settlers'.

We are non-racial, so we do not refer to people in terms of colour. To refer to people in terms of the alleged features of his person or group is violently repulsive and mythical nonsense. There is only one race, the human race.

We are going to build one nation, an African nation, where everyone who pledges allegiance to Africa, its development and its people will be an African, and the colour of a person's skin will be irrelevant.

But we are saying we are not yet there. It is obvious.

The whites who have come here as Europeans have in the meantime become settlers, they have settled here.

They are running the economy in the interests of foreign capital. An insignificant part of the economy is in the hands of the Afrikaners, most is in the hands of foreigners—operated for foreign countries' interests. That is a situation that needs to be redressed.

All the people in the country will have to work for Africa, its people, its development, in this way having a single African nation. We propose the Africanisation of all institutions—learning and all other things.

The different mentalities that are there, divisions, groups, are a manmade creation for political purposes. They can be changed the same way they were introduced, through a programme of education and re-orientation.

Do you accept white members?

We do not accept in PAM any people who regard themselves as white or any people who regard themselves

as black. We only take those who regard themselves as African in terms of our definition. An African is defined as someone who is indigenous or who pays his only allegiance to Africa and its people and its development and accepts straightforward democratic practices.

It is up to each individual to say whether he is an African.

International relations?

We took a congress decision to approach international forums with PAC. And because ideologically we are in the same camp, we would be working closely with PAC on international issues.

Our strongest allies would be in the Non-Aligned Movement which would include the Muslim countries.

Then we would in the West be looking at smaller organisations, leftist organisations and Pan-Africanist organisations.

In Britain, the City of London Anti-Apartheid Movement, the various Pan-Africanist movements such as the All-African People's Revolutionary Party, the Pan-African Congress Movement of Britain, and the (Maoist) Revolutionary Communist Group. Also with the Marxist Workers Tendency, I think. And the black section of the Labour Party—we have met them already.

We would not regard the governments of the Western countries as allies. But Norway is quite open. They paid for the treatment of Mr Mothopeng when he was in Britain and financed our stay.

Where do you get your funding?

It comes from the pockets of the toiling masses. We have a subscription fee of R10 a year. If you have 100 000 people you have R1-million which can cover your costs.

But we are prepared to accept funds from outside organisations which our NEC has agreed to, provided that such funds come with no strings attached.

#### \* Communist Party Views Armed Seizure of Power

34000548A London *THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST*  
in English First Quarter 90 pp 35-43

[Article by Tebogo Kgope: "The Perspectives of the Armed Seizure of Power"]

[Text] The National Democratic Revolution led by the African National Congress is a political struggle to wrest power from the minority regime by the masses of the oppressed people.

Political struggles can assume many forms, depending on given concrete historical conditions. The forms can be parliamentary or extra-parliamentary or embrace elements of both. They can range from the most peaceful to the violent, from the most spontaneous to the most



organised. But formulating our goal as we have done readily indicates our general strategic perception and implies side-lining of some forms.

Seizure is a forceable act. It is clear immediately we talk about seizure that we envisage struggle entailing varying degrees of force. There can be no peaceable or friendly seizure. It should follow then that parliamentary forms, apart from those of "putschist" or like design, fall outside the category of forms aiming at seizure. As Le Duan says: "...under all circumstances, the road to power lies in revolution, not reform." (Le Duan, *The Vietnamese Revolution*, Foreign Languages Publishing Press, Hanoi P57). Yet other extra-parliamentary forms can have a reformist and not a revolutionary content.

Revolutionaries do not reject certain forms in principle but may as a policy. Nothing is taboo except immobility. What forms are adopted and which are excluded depends on the concrete conditions. Conditions also determine what forms become the main and which are secondary, and their relative importance fluctuates on the time scale. The stated goal in general identifies the main.

What, therefore, are the main forms that our movement identifies? The first is mass mobilisation. It aims at militant and united mass action for central government power. Passivity does not contribute towards seizure of power. Negotiations for power are not part of an agenda to increase the militancy of the masses. Negotiations can only be conducted from a position of strength derived from militant action and other revolutionary activity by the oppressed.

If at any point in the recent period the enemy seemed on the point of considering a negotiated solution due to pressure from its backers both inside and outside the country, it was not because of sweet talk, but because of the gathering momentum of militant action by the masses. If the masses of our people in certain quarters have been negotiating with the regime's representatives and councillors over certain issues, it is not, as certain people would have us believe, a vindication of the strategy of negotiations. It is because our people, through militant action, have won a certain measure of real power that forces the regime and its puppets to negotiate with them.

This militancy must express itself in every form and at every turn. And the primary duty of the political worker is that this militancy should grow from day to day, from campaign to campaign, in ever widening terrain, until it has reached a point and a scale where confrontation becomes a point of no return, and general insurrection breaks out.

This militant action of the masses can be peaceful or violent; it can be legal, semi-legal or illegal. At one moment, the masses can be taking part in a placard demonstration, a peaceful wage strike or attending a mass rally; at another they could be erecting barricades and digging trenches to trap and fight enemy vehicles

entering the townships, or dismissed workers can be destroying factory machinery or burning crops, or the people can be physically attacking the enemy's agents and collaborators. Some of this will be spontaneous and some will be organised.

In structural terms, mass mobilisation is effected through legal and illegal forms. It is therefore not the hegemonic preserve of the mass democratic movement operating legally but moreso that of the vanguard movement operating from underground. The banning of the vanguard movement of the oppressed people, the ANC, and its decision to go underground, meant that the fundamental forms of resistance shifted from the legal to the illegal. This position has not changed. Revolutionaries can ignore this basic approach only at their own peril. The rich and turbulent history of the period roughly from 1976-1986 provides sufficient proof of the validity of this approach.

During this period, tremendous advances were made by the legal mass movement in increasing the militancy of the masses. The period will certainly go down in the annals of our history as one in which the politicisation and the militancy of our people reached new unprecedented heights. The legal mass movements played an important role in this. But since these organisational forms are conducted in the open, they are more exposed to the enemy attack. So while more rapid advances can be made in the short term through open agitation and propaganda, and movement can suffer more durable disabilities from a vicious counter-attack in organisational terms.

The most important organisation to emerge in this period to play the central role in the mobilisation of our people from a legal plane was the United Democratic Front [UDF]. Today the UDF is effectively silenced. But the role it has played has ensured that the masses of our people are as militant as ever. This the masses ably demonstrated with the biggest ever stay-away in South African history in June 1988. And in this, also, the UDF played a major role, organised in new, semi-legal and illegal forms. The UDF has certainly taken a bashing, but the organisational base still exists to regroup, revitalise, and, through varied legal and illegal forms, make giant strides in mobilising further our people for militant action against the apartheid state.

The birth of this process is a difficult one. It is not easy to make a transition from one form to another. But this is a flexibility revolutionaries must have, and this is a culture they must develop and inculcate in themselves.

The ANC has an integral role to play in this process as leader of the revolution and custodian of the underground movement. Although we suffer disadvantage from an assault on the legal front, the ANC underground should be the major beneficiary of the attack on the legal mass movement in organisational terms. The cream of the legal mass movement who are prevented from operating openly by the repression should be drawn into the



organised underground. In this way, the underground organisation also revitalises itself with the calibre of activists with fresh experience and intimate links with the masses, links which have to be maintained and strengthened from underground.

In dealing with an enemy as ruthless and repressive as ours, therefore, we should realise that while avenues for open, mass mobilisation should be pursued and undertaken, these should rest firmly on the rock of the ANC underground and be built from it. Le Duan captured this essential relation in these words:

While always taking illegal action as the foundation, the Party skillfully combines it with all possibilities for legal action. In a given situation, it may start an all-out drive for legality, not in order to deceive itself with any illusions about the 'legal' road to power, or to engender such illustrations among the masses, but with a view of giving a broader compass to the education and mustering of the masses and amplifying the influence of the revolution.

The main form the, is that of the underground or "illegal" organisation. Although in a structural sense this form is illegal, in practice it is the chief organiser of all forms of action to raise the fighting spirit of the people, including legal ones.

#### **Render South Africa Ungovernable**

The call of our time is for the masses to render South Africa ungovernable. This is a revolutionary call for militant affirmative action. It is a call designed to spur the masses and release their energy for decisive battles against the racist regime. In the process of their magnificent response to this call, we have dared to put on our immediate agenda the central issue of power with our further call: "From Ungovernability to People's Power". If these are not to be taken as idle action slogans, they have to be understood fully for what they mean and for what they can unleash. The ultimate expression of people's militancy is mass insurrection. A programme and slogans, by working and calling for the widest and deepest forms of militancy willy-nilly also advocate insurrection.

But general insurrection is a culmination of many militant campaigns of the masses in which they are schooled and seasoned for the decisive rout of the enemy that an insurrection should become.

What is general mass insurrection? It is a brief, locked, violent social upheaval in which the contending forces compete, now by force, now by guile, for strategic terrain from which to advance their tactical positions for the final rout.

Once insurrection is begun there can be no going back. It must lead to the defeat of one or other of the contending parties. Insurrection is therefore no child's play.

Unlike war or guerilla warfare, mass insurrection as a form is not arrived at by a decision, even though it may be a natural consequence of a revolutionary programme. It is a spontaneous event. But it is also a political action. It is the highest form of revolutionary politics, involving as it does the entire revolutionary masses. It is the most intense, fervent, rapturous and cataclysmic expression of political will by the masses. The masses are swept in a political frenzy, and instead of a long drawn-out conscious political or armed campaign, embark spontaneously on a death-defying struggle for immediate radical change, using all means at their disposal to realise this. It is therefore not a decision. It can neither be conjured nor willed. It occurs because a situation develops which makes it impossible for the masses to bear with their existence any longer. When the rapture takes place, it will not be because the masses have deliberated on it and taken a decision. It will be because "the time has come".

#### **A Spark Can Start a Veld Fire**

But insurrection, in order to take place, relies on a stimulus. The objective conditions can be present, but this is no guarantee that an uprising will take place. The sufferings, frustrations and grievances are pent-up until a stimulus arises. The stimulus or "spark" can come in many forms. It can arise out of some high-handed action by some official, sparking protests which spread; the killing of a child, a massacre, unpopular legislation, rent evictions etc. It can even arise out of the most unexpected circumstances like a train accident. The uprising in Burma in 1988 started with a tea-room brawl. Hence the famous saying by Mao Tse Tung: "It is only the tiny spark that sets the prairie afire." The stimulus can also come from the revolutionary movement making a call the response to which triggers a chain of events leading to insurrection or a direct call to the masses to rise.

But insurrection is not the activity of the masses alone relying on some stimulus to unleash them on the attack. The masses have to be conscious of the reasons for their plight and conscious of their united organised strength. And this politicisation or conscientisation can only come from "without", from their best representatives, their vanguard organisations. The masses have to be made aware of their ability and responsibility to change things through their united organised strength. They should be made aware of the need to carry out relentless campaigns to bring about change. In this way, they produce their own leaders and increase confidence in their ability to run their own lives. The contradictions within society have to be explained and the general way forward outlined.

But this is general political education, propaganda and agitation to mobilise the masses for mass political action. What type of education is necessary in insurrectionary politics? In other words, since insurrection is their own spontaneous activity, is it possible to teach the masses about insurrection? To an extent, yes. Firstly, general political education helps them to be better organised in the event of an uprising. It is a desirable prerequisite for

successful insurrection. It is the necessary school for the higher struggles. The masses begin to understand the enemy, his strengths and his weaknesses. More, they begin to understand their own strength. The experience they receive steels them for harder battles.

Secondly, the insurrection could otherwise turn out to be a blind fury, dissipating their strength and ending in failure. During the insurrection proper, the vanguard movement (which will not have planned the insurrection) should be in the midst of the masses and at the head of the insurrection, mapping out the broad strategic outlines. It must show the direction of the main blows. It must direct the masses what to attack and when.

Since insurrection is about the seizure of power, and since those who hold the state power do all in their power to deny the revolution any advance, only an astute leadership fighting alongside the masses is able to direct the masses so that they make tactical and strategic gains from day to day. The fluidity of the situation resulting from the reaction trying to regain the tactical and strategic initiative demands that the enemy be continually weakened morally, politically, economically and militarily. Only the artful appraisal of this ensures that the masses make constant advances and the enemy is thrown to the retreat on all fronts.

To this end, crippling economic boycotts and strikes to paralyse the economic infrastructure; blockages and barricades of important road, rail and air traffic arteries; forceable liberation of political prisoners; seizure of key communications or proliferation of own; disarming of vacillating troops, etc are some of the activities the masses must undertake with vigour. The vanguard movement should also carry out the widest possible political propaganda and agitation among the enemy armed forces, because these are critical in determining the outcome of the insurrection.

#### No Peaceful Roads

There are several reasons why South African revolutionaries in particular should interest themselves in insurrectionary politics, why they should seriously think about insurrection and prepare themselves for one.

The first is that insurrection will take place anyway, whether or not they are prepared or interested. The trend of periodic cycles of revolts exists. The seeds are there. The restlessness is there. The masses have no peaceful avenues of struggle left. Their oppression intensifies and their pain increases. Their well-being and suffering worsens daily with galloping unemployment and a downward economy that hits them most. There is no change in sight. Apartheid entrenches itself at every turn and seeks to impose a forceable submission on our people through violence and terror. But they have always shown the knack to come back and rise to the occasion. The general calm which now prevails is only a precursor to more consummate an uprising.

Secondly, South Africa is a highly industrialised country with a highly organised and conscious working class. The masses of the people are steeped in a rich tradition of resistance to oppression through their organised vanguard movements led by the ANC. This continuous process of struggle and politicisation has ensured that the masses of the people are highly conscious of their oppression and have continually sought ways to fight this oppression. The masses, led by their mass democratic movements, have tried to use all legitimate avenues to fight against apartheid racism and their deprivation.

The South African masses are second to none in their experience of mass political action. That is why a litany of draconian security laws have been enacted to thwart their political action. This notwithstanding, they still find ways to advance their struggle, to broaden their unity and to act decisively. This vast experience will be an advantage for the revolutionary masses when insurrection breaks out.

The third reason is to be found in the intransigence of the apartheid regime. Despite worldwide revulsion and condemnation of its racist policies, despite the most stubborn resistance by the masses of our people, the minority regime obstinately holds on to power. To this end, it employs the most savage repression. It bans the organisations of the masses; it carries out mass arrests, detentions and bannings; it sends troops to our townships to murder and maim; it sponsors marauding bandits and vigilantes and sends them on a pillaging rampage against our people. And then it cheekily offers bogus and meaningless reforms. Happily they are always roundly rejected with contempt.

#### The Fight Must Continue

For the masses of our people it therefore becomes clear that they have to find new ways of organising themselves and continuing the fight. It becomes clear that the solution lies in the masses themselves, through their most vigorous and militant action; in finding ways to counter the brutal repression and increasing violence of the enemy with their own revolutionary violence. The masses are pushed to the point where they realise that nothing short of the violent overthrow of the regime will bring about genuine change.

Despite the promises of reforms, the lot of the masses of our people gets worse and is bound further to get worse. The plummeting rand and gold price, the fiscal crisis and the general economic crisis gripping the country are bound to affect more the poorer sections of the South African population—the black people. The effects of the economic morass brought about by apartheid mismanagement will be passed on to the poor black people. We can expect hard times for our people, with rising prices, rising hunger and unemployment, rising homelessness and increased repression.

In such a situation, no one can predict when an explosion will take place and what will take place. And we revolutionaries should be prepared to be part of our people in

the great struggles that certainly must take place, the great struggles that lie just a little ahead, and should not overtake us.

As the enemy's crisis worsens and as he increases his repression, his circle of friends diminishes. Pressure is increasing and must be stepped up on those ruling circles (particularly in the U. S. and Great Britain) to abandon support for the racists and support the just struggle of the people of South Africa. South Africans have not only a right but also a duty to humanity to use any means to blot out this ugly blemish of apartheid from the face of the earth, just as mankind used violence to defeat Nazism.

In many revolutions, no matter what forms of armed campaign were the main, insurrection played a central role in the unfolding of the armed struggle. In the Vietnamese revolution, for instance, we saw the widest combination of armed forms against the United States and its South Vietnamese clients, from conventional warfare, guerilla warfare, people's war, to armed and unarmed insurrection. Revolutionaries who wage wars of attrition against unpopular regimes should always bear in mind that one of the likely consequences of their activity could be to light up the fuse of mass anger. Those, therefore, who dabble in armed struggle while they caution against mass insurrection do not know what they are doing.

We should therefore also set our sights on armed uprising by the masses, ensuring as well that the armed struggle we have determined to prosecute is embraced by them and that they increasingly take part in it to sharpen their revolutionary tools of struggle so that the final battle finds them better equipped to face the reaction.

#### \* Communist Party Views Politics of Negotiations

34000548B London THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST  
in English First Quarter 90 pp 26-34

[Article by Phineas Malinga: "Talking About Talks"]

[Text] The new programme of the South African Communist Party, *The Path to Power*, adopted at the Seventh Congress in 1989, devotes its sixth and final chapter to the way in which the people will overthrow apartheid and create their own government.(1)

That chapter begins by summarising the changes in methods of struggle during the long history of the national liberatory movement. It recalls the historic decision to launch the armed struggle in 1961. It describes the difficulties which the armed struggle has encountered and the achievements in spite of those difficulties. It acknowledges that there was a time when "there developed a tendency to focus too exclusively on military activities. We did not always pay sufficient attention or devote the necessary resources to political work itself." That tendency, however, has been corrected. The programme summarises the present approach as follows:

"Our approach to the relationship between military and other forms of political struggle is guided by the theory of Marxism-Leninism, the experiences of other revolutionary struggles and, above all, our own concrete realities. We communists believe that the struggle must always be given forms appropriate to the concrete political situation. It is this situation which determines whether the revolutionary transformation can be achieved by military or non-military struggle or by a blend of both."

Going on to examine the concrete situation which now exists, the programme makes this fundamental assessment:

"The situation has within it the potential for a relatively rapid emergency of conditions which make possible seizure of power."

This theme is further examined and the possibility of mass insurrection discussed. The discussion leads to this conclusion:

"Seizure of power will be a product of escalating and progressively merging mass political and military struggle with the likelihood of culminating in an insurrection."

Likelihood, however, is not the same thing as certainty. The programme does not commit itself to a single perspective for the future but makes it clear that the Party retains the capacity to respond flexibly to a variety of possible future situations. Among the possibilities examined is that, at some stage, negotiations may take place between the liberation movement and representatives of the present ruling class. The programme deals with this topic as follows:

#### "Prospects of a Negotiated Transfer of Power"

"There is no conflict between the insurrectionary perspective and the possibility of a negotiated transfer of power. There should be no confusion of the strategy needed to help create the conditions for the winning of power with the exact form of the ultimate breakthrough. Armed struggle cannot be counterposed with dialogue, negotiation and justifiable compromises, as if they were mutually exclusive categories. Liberation struggles have rarely ended with the unconditional surrender of the enemy's military forces. Every such struggle in our continent has had its climax at the negotiating table, occasionally involving compromises judged to be in the interests of revolutionary advance. But whether there is an armed seizure of power or negotiated settlement, what is indisputable to both is the development of the political and military forces of the revolution.

"We should be on our guard against the clear objective of our ruling class and their imperialist allies who see negotiation as a way of preempting a revolutionary transformation. The imperialists seek their own kind of transformation which goes beyond the reform limits of the present regime but which will, at the same time,



frustrate the basic objectives of the struggling masses. And they hope to achieve this by pushing the liberation movement into negotiation before it is strong enough to back its basic demands with sufficient power on the ground.

"Whatever prospects may rise in the future for a negotiated transition, they must not be allowed to infect the purpose and content of our present strategic approaches. We are not engaged in a struggle whose objective is merely to generate sufficient pressure to bring the other side to the negotiating table. If, as a result of a generalised crisis and heightened revolutionary upsurge, the point should ever be reached when the enemy is prepared to talk, the liberation forces will, at that point, have to exercise their judgement, guided by the demands of revolutionary advance. But until then its sights must be clearly set on the perspectives of a seizure of power."

### Two Errors

This passage from the programme puts us on guard against two errors. The first error is that of the sincere but simple-minded militant who thinks that once armed struggle has been started, it is shameful to think in terms of stopping it anywhere short of unconditional surrender by the enemy. The emotions which struggle unleashes always lead some elements into this error. Whether it is a question of settling a strike or a local boycott or the far larger question of the future of the country as a whole, there are always some who automatically cry "sell-out!" as soon as the possibility of a negotiated solution is mentioned.

Such people usually have their hearts in the right place but they do not understand the processes by which history moves forward. The dialectical process produces a synthesis, not the total disappearance of one conflicting force and its simple replacement by another. Even an overwhelming military victory does not mean that the enemy disappears from the face of the earth. The human beings who made up the enemy forces must still be dealt with and in the final analysis they must be dealt with politically. There is always a point at which the shooting stops and the talking starts. Where that point should be is a matter for decision in each struggle separately, on the merits of the situation.

The other error, as the Programme makes clear, is one into which our enemies are deliberately trying to lead us. A negotiations bandwagon has been rolling for some time now. Among the first on board it were centre-left white organisations such as the Progressive Federal Party and reactionary black organisations such as Inkatha. At the "Natal Indaba" they floated the idea of a so-called compromise settlement which was in fact an elaborate scheme to avoid majority rule while appearing to concede the principle of one person one vote.(2)

Another early and prominent passenger on the bandwagon has been the British government. It is keen to preserve the capitalist system in South Africa and to

justify its own refusal to join the majority of the world in applying sanctions against apartheid.

### Shift of Emphasis

Under the leadership of P. W. Botha, the South African government kept its distance, rejecting the Natal Indaba ideas and condemning those outside the ranks of the liberation movement who sought dialogue with the movement. There has, however, been a significant shift to emphasis since F. W. de Klerk took over. It is clearly a part of his strategy to hold out the prospect that there will be changes in South Africa and that the content of these changes should be the subject of discussion. The question of where, when, and with whom and on what subjects he is prepared to talk is kept obscure.

He has not conceded the very first point which must be conceded before he can be taken seriously—that the African National Congress [ANC] will be the spokesman for the people in any negotiation. In other words there is nothing, from his side, on the table yet. All that he is doing is trying to create an atmosphere for negotiation.

For what purpose? To dismiss it all as a propaganda exercise, devoid of serious content, would be a mistake. De Klerk has every reason to be serious about changing the disastrous Botha constitution. His position is weaker in every respect than that of his predecessors in office. His command of the white electorate is slipping. The economic situation goes from bad to worse. The growth of the free trade union movement has transformed the industrial scene to his disadvantage. Above all, he has to face the fact that the most extreme methods have been tried in order to suppress the liberation movement, but have failed. ANC meetings and demonstrations are held more openly now than before the state of emergency was imposed. Walter Sisulu and other political prisoners have had to be released.

Therefore de Klerk has to try something new. On the other hand, he is still in command of a formidable state machine which remains integrated with the world imperialist system. There is no reason to suppose that he is on the point of surrender. Here is the basis of the SACP [South African Communist Party] Programme's analysis of the enemy strategy. The enemy aims at a "compromise" settlement which will preserve the essentials of the present system and this is to be achieved by pushing the liberation movement into premature negotiations—negotiations at a stage when the balance of power still remains with the regime. The Programme is undoubtedly correct in warning us against the danger of falling into that trap.

Would it then be correct for the movement to show no interest at all, at the present time, in the subject of negotiations? Before we can answer that question, we must take certain further facts into account.



### Namibian Example

Firstly, there have actually been negotiations with the South African regime over Namibia. The results are problematic in some respects. We do not yet know how favourable the final outcome will be for the Namibian people. Nevertheless, a radically new situation has been created. The liberation movement has new opportunities and new spheres of action. Nobody argues that the negotiations were a sham or that SWAPO [Southwest African People's Organization] has fallen into a trap.

The second point is connected with the first. The Namibian negotiations were one of the projects of a change in the atmosphere of world politics. Thanks to a series of initiatives by the Soviet Union, substantial progress has been made in the direction of world peace. It is the policy of the Soviet Union to seek solutions to regional conflicts and that policy has met with a response from other governments, none of whom can insulate themselves from the world-wide popular demand for peace.

Our struggle, of course, cannot in itself be characterised as a "regional conflict". It is a political conflict, internal to South Africa. It has, however, given rise to a regional conflict. The front-line states have had to pay a heavy price for their generous and loyal support of our liberation movement. From their point of view, there is a regional conflict and they have every right to desire as early a settlement of that conflict as can be achieved.

It follows that the trap mentioned above is not the only one into which our movement risks falling. De Klerk's negotiation propaganda could pay dividends for him even if it fails to lure the movement into a premature negotiation. This will be the case if de Klerk succeeds in presenting himself to the world as the man of peace, whose efforts to reach a settlement are being frustrated by a bunch of ANC warmongers, interested only in sacrificing human lives to their own ambitions. Such a propaganda coup could deprive us of crucial allies, both within the country and internationally.

### The OAU Declaration

It was therefore not sufficient for the liberation movement simply to ignore the issue of negotiations. To do so would be to put the movement into a false position, capable of being exploited by the enemy. The movement had to take up a clear position. Such a position has in fact been taken. The meeting of the OAU [Organization of African Unity] Ad-Hoc Committee on Southern Africa, held in Harare on 21 August 1989, adopted a declaration which has been proposed to it by the ANC.

A reader coming from the SACP Programme to the OAU declaration is likely, at first impression, to experience a sense of shock. The tone of the two documents seems very different. The OAU declaration begins as follows:

"1.0 The people of Africa, singly, collectively and acting through the OAU, are engaged in serious efforts to

establish peace throughout the continent by ending all conflicts through negotiations based on the principle of justice and peace for all."

Further on, the section of the declaration headed "Statement of Principles" begins with this paragraph:

"14.0 We believe that a conjuncture of circumstances exists which, if there is a demonstrable readiness on the part of the Pretoria regime to engage in negotiations genuinely and seriously, could create the possibility to end apartheid through negotiations. Such an eventuality would be an expression of the long-standing preference of the majority of the people of South Africa to arrive at a political settlement."

Can this be right?, the reader may ask. Is it not over-optimistic? Is the OAU not falling into the trap against which the Party Programme warns us?

The reader must read on.

The Statement of Principles, the beginning of which is quoted above, goes on to propose the following fundamental objectives to be pursued by a possible negotiation:

"South Africa shall become a united, democratic and non-racial state.

"All its people shall enjoy common and equal citizenship and nationality, regardless of race, colour, sex or creed.

"All its people shall have the right to participate in the government and administration of the country on the basis of a universal suffrage, exercised through one person one vote, under a common voters' roll.

"All shall have the right to form and join any political party of their choice, provided that this is not in furtherance of racism.

"All shall enjoy universally recognised human rights, freedoms and civil liberties, protected under an entrenched Bill of Rights.

"South Africa shall have a new legal system which shall guarantee equality of all before the law.

"South Africa shall have an independent and non-racial judiciary.

"There shall be created an economic order which shall promote and advance the well-being of all South Africans.

"A democratic South Africa shall respect the rights, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries and pursue a policy of peace, friendship, and mutually beneficial co-operation with all peoples."

These principles are clearly derived from the Constitutional Guidelines published by the ANC in 1988, which in turn are based on the Freedom Charter. Two points are particularly important in the present context. The

future state is to be united and the franchise is to be under a common voters' roll. This indicates that there is to be no discussion of schemes for the balkanisation of South Africa or for the placing of certain voters on separate rolls in order to put them into a position to exercise rights of veto over the will of the majority. A variety of diversionary tactics which would be likely to be injected into a negotiation with an ill-defined agenda are thus ruled out.

The document does not stop there. It continues with the following crucial section:

### "III. Climate for Negotiations

"Together with the rest of the world, we believe that it is essential, before any negotiations can take place, that the necessary climate for negotiations be created. The apartheid regime has the urgent responsibility to respond positively to this universally acclaimed demand and thus create this climate.

"Accordingly, the present regime should, at the very least:

"Release all political prisoners and detainees unconditionally and refrain from imposing any restrictions on them;

"Lift all bans and restrictions on all proscribed and restricted organisations and persons;

"Remove all troops from the townships;

"End the state of emergency and repeal all legislation, such as, and including the Internal Security Act, designed to circumscribe political activity; and,

"Cease all political trials and executions.

"These measures are necessary to produce the conditions in which free political discussion can take place—an essential condition to ensure that the people themselves participate in the process of remaking their country. The measures listed above should therefore precede negotiations."

The final sentence must be noted carefully. What we have here are not subjects to be discussed in a negotiation. They are conditions to be fulfilled before negotiations begin. The significance of these conditions is neither symbolic nor theoretical. These are not just things which the South African government could do to create an atmosphere of goodwill. They are conditions, the fulfillment of which would materially change the balance of power. Particularly crucial is number four—"Remove all troops from the townships." Why were the troops sent into the townships? They were sent to stop the growth of alternative centres of power. In the mid-eighties, these centres were sprouting up like mushrooms; the beginnings of people's power were visible on the streets. Martial law has slowed that process down. The moment martial law is lifted, that process will

resume, more strongly than ever. Under such conditions, the liberation movement would be negotiating from a position of strength.

The ANC has, therefore, correctly identified a set of conditions adequate to guard against the danger described in the Party Programme. A negotiation embarked upon after the fulfillment of these conditions would not be one embarked upon before the liberation movement is strong enough to back its basic demands with sufficient power on the ground. Although the first impression made by the OAU Declaration may be different from that made by the Party Programme, the two documents are, upon analysis, perfectly compatible.

### The Way Forward

The conditions in the OAU Declaration, quoted above, have now become part of the common immediate programme around which the ANC has called for a powerful united front of anti-apartheid forces to rally. That call was made shortly after the adoption of the Declaration by the OAU.

The regime, of course, is unlikely to have any illusions about the significance of the conditions which have been laid down. They are not the conditions which F. W. de Klerk at present has in mind for his version of negotiations. Therefore negotiations are not imminent. This was the conclusion reached by Comrade Thabo Mbeki, ANC secretary for international affairs, after his meeting with a group of Afrikaners headed by the President's brother.(4)

The prospect for the immediate future, therefore, is the continuation of the struggle by all means. The regime's weakness must be exploited and its crisis deepened. It is not possible to predict the regime's reaction. As the loss of power looms closer, a lurch into yet more extreme forms of repression cannot be ruled out. If that happens, the movement will resist as it has always resisted. If, however, the demands of the common immediate programme are achieved and under those conditions an offer to negotiate further steps forward is forthcoming, the struggle may then move into a new phase. That is the purpose for which the OAU Declaration was drawn up.

### Footnotes

1. See African Communist No 118, pp 115-127.
2. See African Communist No 110, p 72.
3. See statement of the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress on the current situation, issued by Lusaka, 22 September 1989.
4. As reported in THE TIMES, London, 7 October 1989.

**\* Communist Party Central Committee Statement**

34000548C London THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST  
in English First Quarter 90 pp 5-7

[Statement issued by South African Communist Party Central Committee: "Advance and Avoid the Traps"]

[Text] The situation is full of promise for a major advance. But it is also full of traps. And the key question facing all of us is how to guide the advance without falling into the traps.

In general, there are two extreme positions which spell danger for the future of our struggle. The one is to maintain that nothing has really changed. This would close our minds to certain tactical readjustments needed to build on the victories already scored. The other is to exaggerate the meaning of the changes. This could lead to an abandonment or toning down of those aspects of our strategy which made those victories possible and which will lay the basis for the ultimate victory.

The need therefore, to reflect on the relationship between our strategy and tactics in our developing situation has never been greater. It calls for both flexibility and adherence to principle.

It is plain that the regime's tactical approach has shifted. It is responding to mounting internal struggle and external pressures and its failure to contain and reverse the people's militancy. There is, however, no doubt that, in all essential respects, de Klerk's shift is designed to continue old policies by other means. But merely to say this is not enough. In order to assess the significance of the shift for our own tactical approaches, we need to go further.

Firstly, the fact that the regime is forced to change course, creates certain new conditions of struggle which cannot be ignored. Events have already shown that the "new means" have also opened new space for advance.

Secondly, we should not judge the effect of an enemy's initiatives solely by its intentions. History has shown over and over again that the objective results of an action often turn out to be the very opposite of what was intended.

In short, it is, above all, our responses which will play the key role in determining whether de Klerk's tactical readjustment will result in holding back or advancing our cause. We must undoubtedly make full use of whatever new space has opened. But in doing so, we must not be trapped into positions which will play into the regime's hands.

What are the main danger areas and how do we avoid them!

- We must frustrate the regime's intention to trap us into substituting "legal" protest politics for active resistance, defiance and armed challenge. Both these terrains of struggle must be pursued with mounting vigour; they must not be treated as alternatives.

- A new relationship is clearly beginning to emerge between legal and illegal work. But this should not tempt us to overlook the border-line between the two. The style of our legal work must make it less easy for the regime to "justify" going back to its previous positions. At the same time, we must use the space won and even expend it without burning our strategic boats. Legal and illegal work are both separate and inter-connected terrains of struggle. A clumsy collapse of the one into the other will do damage to both.
- As yet, de Klerk is doing little more than experimenting with new safety valves to take the steam out of the militancy which the old methods failed to dampen. We need to prepare ourselves organisationally to meet a possible backlash and resist being lulled into pure "legalism". The consolidation and strengthening of the underground and the spread of grassroots people's organisation remains top priority.
- We have never rejected the possibility of meaningful negotiation. But it is political suicide to spread the illusion that this could come about through anything short of intensified struggle and pressure on all fronts. A key tactic in the regime's attempts to demobilise our people is to present de Klerk as a leader who has both the will and the capacity in the long run to "dismantle Apartheid". We must be on the alert to frustrate this deception in everything we say and do.
- The recent outstanding gains in the international arena, including the widespread acceptance of the ANC [African National Congress]-sponsored negotiating concept, must be consolidated and expanded. In particular, we must actively thwart pressures from Pretoria's allies, and even isolated tendencies among some of our friends, which objectively encourage the idea of "peace at any price". It is, of course, important to counter the enemy-fed slanders that we are unreasonable and wild in the pursuit of our objectives. But in doing so we should not put at risk our image among our people as militants and revolutionaries.
- We stand four-square behind the immediate objectives of the National Democratic Revolution. This will bring about a multi-party, non-racist democracy based on one person one vote, a mixed economy and constitutional safeguards for the social, cultural, linguistic and religious rights of all individuals. The struggle to achieve this calls for the broadest coalition of all class and democratic forces who support these aims and who are not hostile to the ANC and the Mass Democratic Movement.

We must also be on guard against the pseudo-revolutionaries who attempt to narrow the base of such a coalition. At the same time the working class and its political and mass organisations must maintain their independence and vigorously spread their ultimate perspective of socialism.

If a time ever arrives when the regime is ready to genuinely negotiate the process of moving to democracy as understood by the whole civilised world, it will come



as a wonderful surprise. And if the preconditions for talks are met, a dialogue about the process may become possible. Until then there can be no retreat from our policy of mounting even greater pressures on all fronts of struggle, internal and external, legal and illegal.

There is nothing in the present situation which justifies a departure from the perspective of a seizure of power. We must skillfully use the new space to advance this perspective.

#### \* COSATU's Leadership in Liberation Struggle

34000547C London THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST  
in English First Quarter 90 pp 44-51

[Article by Ray Alexander: "COSATU A Leading Force in the Liberation of South Africa"]

[Text] Key factor in this development has been the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), formed in November 1985 and today the spokesperson of close on 1 million trade union members. In the discussions which took place between COSATU and SACTU [South African Congress of Trade Unions] in March 1986, it was agreed

"that the widest possible unity of trade unions in our country is of the utmost importance of our people's struggle against the apartheid regime and the bosses".

At its third national congress held in Johannesburg on July 12-16, 1989, proceedings were based on the theme "EDUCATE, CONSOLIDATE, ADVANCE TO VICTORY!"

The congress was attended by 1,875 delegates from COSATU's 16 affiliated unions. Fraternal delegates attended the congress as observers from the National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU), independent trade unions, the United Democratic Front (UDF) affiliates, religious and women's organisations, sports groups and teachers' associations.

It was one of the biggest anti-apartheid rallies staged under the four-year state of emergency during which most anti-apartheid groups have been prevented from holding mass meetings. COSATU, as the most significant forum, debated the burning issues of the day.

The importance of the congress does not lie only in size but mainly in the content of the serious issues debated. The challenge was put to the delegates by COSATU President Elijah Barayi in his opening address. He said:

"Given our contention that the regime is itself illegal and illegitimate, we in this Congress are not prepared to confine our programme to what Pretoria has defined as legal and acceptable.(1)

"The terrain of our immediate struggle is to map out the path to power and to develop subjective forces that are equal to the task.

"We have the historic task of helping South Africa to move out of the impasse into which the ruling circles have driven it...The vision we are articulating is of a society which will in reality put power into the hands of the people".(2)

It was in this light that Barayi called for discussion of the ANC [African National Congress]'s Constitutional Guidelines.

Talk about the Path to Power is not idle. Jay Naidoo, COSATU's general secretary, said:

"We are meeting at a momentous time in our history, on the threshold of transition to a society free from the shackles of economic and political enslavement".

COSATU, he stressed, was the "centre of organised and militant workers, a leading force in the liberation of our country".(3)

#### Membership Doubled

Since its formation in 1985 COSATU has more than doubled its membership, from 450,000 to 921,497 paid-up members. Following the principle of "one union for one industry", COSATU has reduced the number of affiliated unions from 33 to 16. Above all COSATU has placed working class politics on the agenda, with militant campaigns such as the Living Wage Campaign.

COSATU has also consolidated at local level, set up shop steward councils in at least 45 areas, established industrial areas committees which played an important role in mobilising participation in the June 1988 National Stay-away.

COSATU's growth in membership flows from the workers' understanding "that it pays to belong to trade unions, it pays to belong to COSATU. Wage increases for workers obtained by the unions in the first half of this year showed an average of 22 percent. But companies' profits increased by an average of 54 percent.(4) The majority of semi- and unskilled workers believe unions try to help employees to get a fair deal and regard them as guardians of job security(5)

Jay Naidoo said:

"Not only has the Federation grown in terms of members, but also in its political maturity and reminded delegates of COSATU's Second National Congress which adopted the Freedom Charter which deepened the debates and struggles around the role of the working class in fighting for socialism and democracy in South Africa.

"The struggle against national oppression and the struggle against exploitation are complimentary to each other and part of an uninterrupted struggle for total liberation."(6)



Since 1987, the debates on the Freedom Charter have welded unity between COSATU's affiliates and structures and a more serious commitment to build the Central Executive Committee. COSATU and its affiliates organise the people at different levels. They are constantly engaged in struggle for higher wages, and against race discrimination at work. Together with community organisations they participated in the struggle for homes, schools, hospitals, against poor living conditions, increased rents, vigilante violence, the killings in Natal.

COSATU's third national congress examined and debated the campaign against the Labour Relations Amendment Act (LRAA), the ANC's Constitutional Guidelines, the fraudulent tricameral elections, F. W. de Klerk's five year plan, the UDF/COSATU peace initiative in Natal, the woman's position and the struggle for independent Namibia.

The last four years of emergency rule have seen a growing ideological coherence and unity in action between COSATU, the affiliates of UDF and other mass formations. COSATU plays an important role in ensuring unity in action among unions of various political persuasions and thus is able to bring about more massive action on issues such as the Labour Relations Amendment Act.

Jay Naidoo made a passionate call to intensify mass defiance of apartheid:

"We must spread the spirit of defiance to every corner of our land—the factories, shops and mines, into the rural areas and bantustans, into schools and townships."(4)

### **Sexual Harassment**

The Transpost and General Workers' Union (TGWU) in a resolution drew attention to the fact that there were many instances of sexual harassment in the trade union movement and called for tighter sexual discipline which should form part of a proposed code of conduct. The TGWU said "male unionists used their political experience and organisational seniority to win over new women recruits and when such unequal relationships collapsed, the women often dropped out of the organisations and splits occurred." After a heated debate, a watered down resolution was adopted, calling for discussion of a code and the possible incorporation into it of the question of sexual conduct.

In the past, when organising women workers and particularly in the Food and Canning Workers' Union (FCWU), we conducted an ongoing campaign and struggle against sexual harassment in the factories. Departmental managers and foremen who used their power to hire and fire women workers were exposed. At branch and factory meetings, where issues were discussed openly.

Communists and ANC activists must not shy away from this problem. President O. R. Tambo, in his statement to the conference of the ANC Women's Section in Luanda, in September 1981, said:

"The mobilisation of the people into active resistance and struggle for liberation demands the energies of women no less than that of men. A system based on the exploitation of man by man can in no way avoid the exploitation of women by male members of society."

Therefore the TGWU's resolution was timely. A further resolution it moved, calling for the promotion of women leadership in COSATU and its affiliates, was adopted despite opposition of some delegates. A resolution by the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) to facilitate the revival of the Federation of South African Women (FEDSAW) was also adopted.(8)

The formation of COSATU's Women's Forum in April 1988 was a positive contribution towards the development of women's leadership in COSATU and its affiliates. Having read the Forum's minutes of workshops and seminars held in Johannesburg, Cape Town and Port Elizabeth, I am confident that women trade unionists will fight and win greater female leadership in the labour movement and in the process eradicate sexual harassment at all levels.

### **National Strikes**

COSATU's congress outlined a course of national strike action and agreed that workers' action be finally endorsed by the Second Workers' Summit involving COSATU, NACTU and non-aligned unions. The COSATU congress resolved to recommend to this Summit a week of "co-ordinated and sustained" worker protest to focus on the LRAA, the racist elections and the general state of repression.

The employers' S.A. Consultative Committee of Labour Affairs (SACCOLA) response to the threat of industrial action was to warn that it could jeopardise the ongoing negotiations between the unions and SACCOLA on the restructuring of the Labour Relations Amendment Act.

Shortly after the COSATU congress, the government announced on July 20 that it had asked the National Manpower Commission to investigate the LRAA and particularly its contentious Section 79(2) which broadens unions' liabilities for damages in illegal strikes.

The unions announced that between July 24 and August 15 their members would be balloted and national protest action could follow.

COSATU's determination to implement a sustained programme of action is based not on sloganising, but on the growing strength of its affiliates and their involvement in various campaigns such as this consumer rent and bus boycotts.

In Carletonville, the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) and the Khutsong Action Committee (KAC)

comprising 27 community organisations, called for a consumer boycott of white-owned shops, defiance actions such as sit-ins in parks and other amenities, the local Chamber of Commerce admitted that the boycott caused a loss of over R12 million.(9)

The sixth national congress of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) held on April 12-16, 1989 and attended by 601 delegates from 16 regions with the theme Defend and Consolidate NUM.

Harry Gwala, recently released from a sentence of life imprisonment, delivered the Honorary President's address on behalf of Nelson Mandela. The conference debated 80 resolutions as well as the ANC's Constitutional Guidelines. The Congress demanded that all forms of discrimination in the mining industry be abolished. It called for safety measures for miners, the defeat of repression and defiance of apartheid.

The Second National Congress of the National Union of Metalworkers of S. A. (NUMSA) held on May 18-21 in Johannesburg, attended by 750 delegates representing 190,000 members, welcomed Moses Mayekiso, its general secretary, who had been acquitted on charges of treason and sedition. Moses Mayekiso called on the workers to build workers' unity and the mass democratic movement (MDM).(10)

COSATU and its affiliates had suffered a number of setbacks at the hands of the regime—the sentencing to death and long sentences for activists of the South African Railways & Harbour Workers' Union (SAR-HWU), and the Post Office and Telecommunications Workers' (POTWA); the murder of trade unionists like Jabu Ndlovu, a shop steward of NUMSA, and Elias Banda, National Organiser of Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers' Union of S. A. (ACTWUSA); attacks on trade union offices of the Food and Allied Workers' Union (FAWU), Chemical Workers' Industrial Union (CWIU) in East London, and the destruction of trade union activists' homes.

After the congress, COSATU unions flexed their muscles with a series of strikes in major firms around the country. The MDM, a powerful alignment of patriotic forces of which COSATU is a key component, announced its campaign of mass peaceful defiance of unjust laws.

#### Regime In Crisis

The MDM's Defiance Campaign is taking place when South Africa is in the grip of an all-embracing crisis. The economy, judiciary, education and other sections of the South African community are in disarray. The overriding factor in all this has been the escalation of violence, the growing influence of the military and security systems, the social, economic and political effects of apartheid.

The Defiance Campaign has been marked by participation from a broad range of South African labour, clergy

and academics. The increasing participation of whites has led to the enhancement of non-racial solidarity against apartheid. 771 young whites refused to serve in the South African Defence Force as it upholds apartheid, and declared their solidarity with the MDM in defiance of unjust laws.

COSATU, NACTU and independent unions held the Second Workers' Summit despite police restrictions. Anti-LRAA protests, work stoppages in factories, shops and mines were held nationally. COSATU's call for a stayaway in protest against the LRAA and against apartheid tri-cameral elections was accepted. It was also agreed to organise a consumer boycott and a ban on overtime.

Business and industry throughout the country came to a halt on Tuesday the 6th and Wednesday the 7th September as an estimated three million workers staged a massive stayaway, one of the largest in South Africa's history.

The Associated Chamber of Commerce described the stayaway as "obviously very substantial". In the Eastern Cape the entire workforce stayed away on both days. More than 60 percent of the work force in the Western Cape participated in the Stayaway, the biggest ever in that region. An exceptionally high absentee rate in Natal was registered as thousands did not report for work. The Natal Chamber of Industries said there was an almost 100 percent Stayaway in the textile industry, between 60 and 95 percent in the milling and rubber industries.(11)

The Cape Flats townships on election day were not only marked by strike action, but became a battle zone leaving at least 23 people dead and over one hundred injured—men, women and children. Children had been teargassed, shot with rubber bullets, birdshot and buckshot.

On Wednesday September 12, about 40,000 people responded to the MDM's call to protest against police shooting in the city's townships and marched behind banners reading:

"Peace in our city!" "Stop the killings!" "Hands off COSATU!" etc

The march was led by Archbishop Desmond Tutu; the mayor of Cape Town, Mr Gordon Oliver; COSATU General Secretary, Jay Naidoo; Frank Chikane, General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches; UDF President Zolile Malindi, Dr Allan Boesak and others. ANC, SACP [South African Communist Party] and UDF flags were hoisted to loud applause from the marchers. The crowd welcomed the ANC flag draped over the mayor's balcony.

Jay Naidoo declared on behalf of COSATU:

"We will continue to intensify action against the targets already identified, which are hospitals, schools and beaches. Another major focus of the campaign will be our right to speak, organise, meet and protest freely. In

this way we will be building the free political climate necessary for any meaningful negotiations to take place. We are determined to smash the Labour Relations Amendment Act through a sustained programme of action which will show employees that we will never accept apartheid laws in general and the LRAA in particular."(13)

The defiance fever spread. Thousands of people around South Africa took to the streets. We witnessed historic marches in Cape Town, 35,000 in Johannesburg, 40,000 in East London and Durban, 80,000 in Uitenhage, in Bloemfontein, Oudtshoorn, Pretoria, Stellenbosch, Pietermaritzburg. Thousands of residents of the bloodiest township in Natal, Mpumalanga, refusing to be cowed by violence, marched in protest at the killings. Thousands of people from across the social and political spectrum participated in these marches with banners of the ANC, UDF, the South African Communist Party, COSATU, NUM, SAMWU and other union banners and hundreds of posters reading:

"Hands off COSATU!" "Peace in our townships!"

COSATU's leadership in strikes, its participation in the Mass Democratic Movement, in the defiance campaign, in the marches in the cities, in towns, and villages, made all the difference to the deep seated political crisis for the apartheid regime and our advance to victory.

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#### \* Growth of Trade Union Movement

34000547B London THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST in English First Quarter 90 pp 94-104

[Article by Dr. E. Reed: "Key to Unity in the Liberation Movement"]

[Text] The statistics used in this paper need qualification in as much as they class workers as black and white. That is not of course the classification of a normal society, but in South Africa such a classification is essential if we are to make any sense of the apartheid system of exploitation. Coloured and Indian workers have from time to time been subsumed into the white trade union movement. They have, however, often been there more by default of leadership than by desire of the workers themselves. In the recent era they have more and more come to realise that their place is with the African workers (indeed there are even straws in the wind that more and more white workers are beginning to sense the power of the African workers). I have thus, I feel justifiably, incorporated the Coloured and Indian workers with the Africans as black workers, especially since the statistics separating them as workers have become blurred in recent years. On occasion, however, I have separated the African worker from the black worker to emphasize a particular point.

COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions], the biggest trade union federation in South Africa, does not make any distinction on the basis of colour. Other trade unions and trade union groupings follow this lead to a lesser or greater extent. The state, however, not only separates people on the basis of skin colour but also clearly discriminates against black people. Much of the state's statistical information is thus suspect. The facts of life in apartheid South Africa place colour at the centre of the agenda although logic would decree otherwise.

#### Economic Changes

Agriculture's percentage share of the gross national product has decreased from 21 percent in 1911 to 5 percent in 1984; that of all mining has decreased in the same period from 27 percent to 18 percent while that of manufacturing has increased from 6 percent to 30 percent. This relative growth of the manufacturing industry is of particular significance.

It should also be noted that in mining the importance of gold has decreased. Coal mining now contributes an increasing share in this sector and is more closely linked with manufacturing.

#### Colour Composition of the Work Force

The South African economy has, since the coming of the white man, grossly undervalued the labour of black people compared to that of whites. In the period 1935 to 1985, in mining wages paid to white workers have been on average 12 times those paid to black miners (varying from about 20 times as much to about 5.5 times as much in recent years). In manufacture the ratio has averaged about 4.8 (from about 5.8 to 3.6). Black wages in all sectors of the economy are always considerably less than those of whites. Wages generally have increased but the gap between blacks and whites has increased with time.



White miners get higher wages than whites in manufacture but blacks in mining get less than blacks in manufacture. Discrimination in mining is greater than in manufacture.

The rate of African unemployment as a percentage of the total African population has risen from 2.78 percent in 1970 to 19.2 percent in 1986. That of whites as a percentage of the total white population has risen from 0.22 percent to 3.7 percent in the same period. Over this period a black person has had on average 25 times as much chance of being unemployed as a white worker (varying from 50 to 5 times as great a chance). It must be remembered that the unemployment figures for the African population are if anything underestimated even by sympathetic academics. Unemployment among Africans both as a percentage of the African population and in absolute terms is much higher than that of whites, leading to lower wages for Africans and also illustrating how Africans are devalued compared to whites.

Black labour being cheaper will, in spite of all other factors, eventually be preferred by employers. Opposition of organised white labour and racist politicians allowing, and providing the capitalist class retains state power, the employers will employ as large a percentage of black workers as possible. Capital is in essence driven by the lust for profit. The greater the rate of exploitation of the working people the greater the profit. If racial discrimination serves the purpose of keeping the rate of exploitation high the capitalist class will support it. If at the same time racial discrimination ensures their retention of political power this is an added bonus. The apartheid system of exploitation has so far assured them of these twin objectives.

If however expensive white workers can be replaced by cheaper black workers the capitalist will exert every effort to increase the percentage of black workers that he employs. The 1922 strike revolved around the attempt of the mine owners to employ black labour on the mines at lower rates than whites doing the same jobs.

#### Pressure for Readjustment

It is this basic drive to maximise the rate of exploitation that is again causing the capitalists to seek a readjustment of the old fashioned colour bar. This pressure for readjustment is increased by the changes for labour intensive to capital intensive production. Skilled labour is in greater demand.

White skilled labour is, skill for skill, much more expensive than black labour and it is also getting scarce. The rate of exploitation of skilled labour is also higher than that of unskilled labour. The thought of the exploitation of skilled workers at the wage rates of the unskilled black worker floods the soul of the capitalists with the blinding light of avarice.

Their problem is: can they replace white workers with black and still as a class retain political power?

The percentage of black people in the population at large has risen from 79.1 percent in 1945 to 86 percent in 1987. The percentage of blacks working in mining and agriculture has remained relatively stable over the years at a figure higher than that in the general population. For example the percentage of blacks in agriculture has during this period always been over the 90 percent mark. In mining the figure hovers around the 89 percent mark. In a capitalist economy where black wages are lower than white due to race discrimination, one would expect the percentage of black workers in all areas of exploitation to be higher than their percentage in the population at large.

The proportion of black workers employed in manufacture is lower than in mining or agriculture, rising from 61 percent in 1951 to 77.5 percent in 1987. From the point of view of the employers, that is an "uneconomic" proposition.

This proportional under-employment of black workers in manufacture has been caused by many factors, not least the lack of technical skills due to the education policies of successive white governments. The percentage of technical posts held by black workers was 29 percent in 1945, rising to 41 percent in 1980, and falling to 37 percent in 1987. Such employment is still an extremely small percentage compared to the percentage of black people in the general population.

It is, however, instructive to look at figures for the percentages in administrative and managerial posts where the employment of black workers in fact decreased from 18 percent in 1951 to 5 percent in 1987. The percentage of the black population in managerial positions is even lower than in technical posts. Racial prejudice is so intense and the fear of black management of whites so pervasive that even greater financial rewards for employing blacks in such posts must be foregone. Or perhaps sufficient blacks cannot be found who are prepared to become impimpi? There were very few who were prepared to put themselves forward for election to administrative posts in the 1988 fraudulent elections.

#### Motive Forces

When economic pressures on the working people become unbearable, and they are not so suppressed that they cannot see the advantage, indeed the inevitability of confrontation with the employers, they organise themselves against even the greatest odds.

This is what happened with the white workers in the early years of this century. The first trade union organisation was in the print industry. Other trade unions followed, particularly in the mines which comprised the major economic sector. In 1915 there were some 10,000 whites in trade unions; by 1920 that number had risen to close to 20,000. This confrontation between labour and capital led to the Rand revolt of 1922. The employers and the state responded with the maximum use of force, coupled with the ready-made safety valve of racism to

divert the wrath of the white workers and the new system of control was instituted. Of course, it was not known as apartheid at that time.

Immediately after the Rand Revolt the white trade unions suffered considerable losses with a sharp drop in membership following the previous rapid rise (only 70,000 members by 1924). However the white workers learned to live as part of the new system, becoming in fact incorporated into the apparatus of the white capitalist state. White trade union membership slowly and consistently rose till the present day where it now stands at close to 500,000.

### The Black Workers

The economic and political pressures on the black population in South Africa have steadily grown over the decades since the twenties and black workers' organisation has grown apace. The rise of their power is indicated in part by the number of times they have used the strike as a weapon to defend themselves.

The number of strikes by African workers per year never rose above 100 per year between 1900 and 1973. From 1973 to 1975 the figure hovered around 200 but from 1981 with 342 strikes the figure rose rapidly and dramatically to some 1148 in 1987. The number of person days per year lost to the employers in strikes by African workers remained below 380,000 over the years 1972 to 1984 but between 1985 and 1987 the number of person days lost rose steeply from some 650,000 to close on 6,000,000 in 1987 (industrial disputes only, not including political general strikes).

The first trial of strength between the African workers and the capitalists was by the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union in the years 1919-1928. In 1925 the number of Africans in the trade unions was about 30,000. This rose to an estimated 120,000 in 1927 and slumped to 30,000 in 1929. The next attempt was just after the second world war under the leadership of the Council of Non-European Trade Unions, in the period 1945-1947, when African trade union membership rose to some 150,000.

The South African Congress of Trade Unions [SACTU], formed in 1955, led the next battle. African trade union membership rose from 20,000 in 1955 to 50,000 in 1959/61 but under the onslaught of the bosses and the apartheid regime it dropped to less than 8,000 in 1965. SACTU continued to struggle underground to revive the trade union movement amongst the African workers. The battle has now been joined above ground by the Congress of South African Trade Unions, formed in 1986, and others. Trade union membership almost doubled every two years from 1980 to 1987, 1980-260,000, 1982-400,000, 1984-900,000, 1986-1,700,000, and in 1989 something over 2,000,000.

The graph of person-days lost indicates the intensity of the battle between the employers and the workers, while the number of strikes per year shows the widespread

nature of their struggle. For example the major factor contributing to the large number of person-days lost in 1987 was the massive prolonged miners' strike.

The translation of this militancy into organisation is indicated by the trade union membership figures. The major significance of the past 3 to 4 years is that although the workers were militant and well led in the past they did not manage until recently to translate this into continued organised strength.

### Economic Restructuring

The overall restructuring of the economy has been shown above but with each sector there have also been changes in technology with the concomitant necessity for the readjustment of the labour force to the new environment. Such restructuring causes ferment and discontent and must contribute to the pressures for unionisation. Clearly the work force has been subject to intense pressure by these changes. The rate of their exploitation has increased as also has their skill and the indispensability of their labour.

Farming has been restructured along capital intensive lines with the number of farms decreasing from 117,000 in 1950 to 70,000 in 1984. The number of tractors increased from 1,302 in 1926 to 285,000 in 1977. Farm workers are still relatively unorganised. The necessity and the desire may be present among the workers but forceful suppression by the employer and the state makes trade union organisation difficult.

In mining, despite changes in technology, the number of kilograms of gold produced per worker has not changed dramatically. Presumably the increased productivity of the years 1966/1970 has been balanced by the increasing difficulties in mining in later years. Mining is still a mainly labour intensive operation, depending on the widespread use of black (almost exclusively African) labour. This sector of the work force is now well on the way to full-scale organisation. The black mineworkers have a long history of struggle going back to the beginning of the century. However it is only recently that they have been able to translate this spirit of struggle into a continuing organisation, the National Union of Mineworkers.

Where considerable changes have taken place is in manufacture where a skilled work force is an imperative. With the growth of manufacture and the increasing percentage of black labour within that work force has come the wherewithal for the black worker to win from the bosses and the state recognition of his right to organise. The decade of black unionisation in South Africa was heralded by the rise of the trade unions in the manufacturing sector. The bosses in this sector had the strength and the cunning to force the white workers to acquiesce in the use of black labour on the production lines in the motor and other industries.

But with these changes came the development of a skilled, articulate, literate and enlightened sector of the

black working class. This group of workers had a tradition of struggle both political and economic. They were not new to trade unionism. In 1919 they had formed the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union. In 1945/50 they had been in the Council of Non-European Trade Unions. In 1955 up till the late sixties they had laid the foundation of non-racial militant trade unionism under the South African Congress of Trade Unions.

Now the workers have found that they have economic power as well as the will, the desire and the skill to be organised. The decade of black trade union power had forced itself upon an unsuspecting South Africa. Being no longer able to bleed the black trade unions to death, the bosses have turned to the tactic of incorporation into the state apparatus via the Wiehahn commission. The commission only succeeded in loosening the cork in the bottle.

Where the workers in manufacture had broken through, the thousands of mineworkers followed, together with those in the commercial and service sector. The agricultural workers are now beginning to join the movement.

The genie is out of the bottle. Incorporation into the apartheid system of exploitation may have succeeded with the white workers, but can it succeed with the black? Any political changes which would be meaningful will have to entail the dismantling of that same apartheid system of exploitation.

#### Assault on the Unions

It would appear from the latest assault on the trade unions in South Africa that the apartheid regime has given up the belief that the new unions under the leadership of COSATU can be incorporated into the state system. They have launched an all-round assault on the unions using not only new refined methods of terror but copying the methods which have been developed in the United States of America and more especially the United Kingdom.

It is interesting to compare the growth of the trade union movement in the United States of America. Trade union membership waxed and waned for some 40 years between 1895 and 1935, never rising above 3.6 million. By 1960 however there had been a rapid rise to some 20 million. Since then however there has been a steady decline to under 17 million in 1985.

In the period from 1895 to the middle 1930's the main method used by the American bosses, backed by the state, was suppression by force. Workers and their leaders were beaten, shot, murdered, framed and trumped-up murder charges and arrested without charges. Their families suffered. Strikes were broken by armed thugs, the state guard and federal troops. Spies, racism, lies and the power of the yellow press were fully exploited to break the trade union movement.

However the attempt failed. In the middle 1930's capitalism in America was in the grip of the great depression.

The more far-sighted political leaders were fearful that the continued use of naked force against the working class would only lead to pressure for revolutionary change. Under the leadership of Roosevelt the people of America elected a government which opened up the possibility for the workers to exercise their right to organise. It was known as the period of the New Deal.

In 1945 the end of the second world war against fascism gave impetus to the organisation of the American workers. There followed a sudden rapid increase in trade union organisation (3.6 million in 1935, 9 million in 1940 and 14.8 million in 1945). A feeling of unity prevailed, with the questions of racism and anti-communism relegated to the background.

The monopolists continued their opposition to the organisation of the workers and the disruptive tactic of anti-communism was assiduously employed. The rise of Senator McCarthy and the anti-communist witchhunt by the CIA [Central Intelligence Agency] and the right wing in the AFL-CIO [American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations] resulted in the decline in trade union membership as shown in the period after the late 1950's.

#### Unity Must Be Preserved

All this contains a serious lesson for our working class. We must never allow the noxious poison of anti-communism to destroy our unity.

The unity of the liberation movement built over so many years of struggle by the alliance of the ANC [African National Congress], SACTU and SACP [South African Communist Party] must be preserved.

We must never allow the methods used so successfully by the multi-nationals in the West against their trade unions to be imported into our movement in South Africa.

In South Africa the regime continues to use force against the trade unions. The creation of divisions based on anti-communism, on opposition to the ANC and the Freedom Charter, is part of the attack on our trade union movement. The regime is attempting to destroy the unity that has been created under the leadership of COSATU. There are powerful forces in the ICFTU (International Confederation of Free Trade Unions), in the AFL-CIO (American Federation of Labour Congress of Industrial Organisations) and the ITS's (International Trade Secretariats) that are well trained in the use of the communist bogey to emasculate the trade unions in the western world. A close scrutiny of the activities of a number of leading personalities in for example FIET (International Federation of Commercial, Clerical, Professional and Technical Employees), IUF (International Union of Food and Allied Workers Association), PTTI (Postal Telegraph, Telephone International), and others will show how their actions have not assisted the creation of unity but have fostered division in various South African unions.



Now more than ever it is necessary to cherish trade union unity. The workers see apartheid and their immediate boss in clear focus as their problem. It is up to the leaders to keep the same clear focus on the enemy and to discuss and build unity amongst themselves.

Other problems lie ahead which are already having an impact on the strength of the trade union movement in our country. The provisional figures for 1988 indicate a possible decline in the number of strikes, in the number of person-days lost through strikes and in trade union membership.

The new Labour Relations Amendment Act is fashioned to a large extent along the lines of labour law of the Conservative government in the United Kingdom. In the UK these laws have severely reduced both the numbers of workers in trade unions and the social and economic strength of the British TUC [Trades Union Congress].

The growth of trade union unity, both in breadth and depth, is the answer to these attacks. The formation of one union in the textile and garment industries SACTWU (South African Clothing and Textile Workers' Union) is to be welcomed, and we look forward to the leather workers joining it. The healing of the divisions in CCAWUSA [Commercial, Catering, Allied Workers' Union of South Africa] is imperative and it is to be welcomed that the moves to form a breakaway hotel workers' union was rejected by the workers. Problems of unity are not solved by breakaway unions but by keeping the goal of the overthrow of apartheid clearly in view and by discussion and democracy within the unions building unity in action against the employers.

The creation of one teachers' union in education seems to have been unduly delayed. The winning of the nurses to the realisation that their place is in COSATU in a health workers' union is proving a long-term task. NEHAWU (National Education Health and Allied Workers' Union) was created to cater for both these groups of workers. The potential for such a union is enormous but the path to its realisation needs consistent organisational work and diplomacy. Its success is essential for the nurses, the teachers and the workers at present in NEHAWU.

The unity in action by COSATU, NACTU [National Council of Trade Unions] and other independent unions against the Labour Relations Amendment Act are steps along the right path.

In February last year workers representatives from trade unions affiliated to COSATU and NACTU, and from those unaffiliated to any centre, formulated tactics to fight the Act. The voices of those who placed their narrow sectarian perspectives above the needs of the struggle against the regime were ignored. The workers' summit was a massive success. The next workers' summit (there will surely be further summits) must embrace even wider circles amongst the workers' organisations.

### Other Methods

Other methods of diverting the trade unions from participation in the task of destroying apartheid and taking the road to socialism are being cultivated.

Ideas long in use in Israel are being tried out in South Africa. For example in the textile industry in Natal, Framtex fired 1,500 workers and as part of a settlement with the union ACTWUSA [Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers' Union of South Africa] gave the union R4.2 million with the idea of setting up a co-operative to be run by the union which will employ the workers. The profits of the co-op will, it has been proposed, be controlled by the union. There is a danger of the trade union becoming involved in the state system much as the Histadrut is in Israel. Because of opposition from the workers, there are moves for this co-op to be transferred from the control of the union to the control of the co-op workers themselves. This is certainly to be preferred.

The promotion of share owning and the formation of so-called trusts are all part of the promotion of the idea that the capitalist system is good for the workers and that they should somehow be prepared to have a share in their own exploitation.

It must be clearly borne in mind that the reason for the existence of the trade unions is the defence of the lives and interests of the workers and their families. This task is in shorter term incompatible with the continued existence of the apartheid system of exploitation and in the long term incompatible with the continued existence of the capitalist system.

There is thus no way that the trade unions can hope to continue to exist within the capitalist system other than as a contingent of the army of the people in their struggle to replace capitalism with a better socialist mode of production.

Capital will only allow trade unions to exist if they perform the role of taming the workers, not organising them to fight for freedom from exploitation.

Beware the temptation to accept reforms and blandishments as substitutes for struggle.

### \* Trade Unionist Discusses Personal History

34000547A London *THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST*  
in English First Quarter 90 pp 60-69

[Interview with Harry Gwala, trade unionist and political leader: "The Socialist Path Is the Only One Open to the Oppressed Everywhere"]

[Text] [THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST] Harry, perhaps you can tell us what brought you to politics in the first instance.

[Gwala] In my first year as a teacher I found that many children coming from the slums could hardly concentrate and were dozing whilst the class was going on. It

was only when I visited some of the families that I discovered how intolerable their living standards were. In class we were teaching them about hygiene, diet, sanitation and cleanliness and all those things, but the condition of their parents put all those things beyond their reach.

It was about this time that I started reading the Guardian newspaper which I came across in the corner shop, and putting one thing and another together I began thinking it was not enough teaching the children about hygiene. One had to do something about low wages and the condition of their parents.

[THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST] You joined the Communist Party before you joined the ANC [African National Congress], is that right?

[Gwala] Yes, I joined the Communist Party in 1942 and the ANC in 1944.

[THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST] How do you explain that?

[Gwala] In those days the ANC in Natal was more or less dead. The people who were very active were the Communist Party. They were holding mass meetings and organising trade unions, and of course they were organising political classes. I had my first political education in the Communist Party, which taught me about the national question.

Up till then I had thought in terms of black and white, racial discrimination and the colour bar. It was only when I joined the Communist Party that I realised the whole thing revolved around the class struggle.

[THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST] What is the relation between the national question and the class struggle?

[Gwala] South Africa is a classic example of the way in which the national struggle and class struggle are banded together. Let us take the question of the African workers. Under the Urban Areas Act which was promulgated in 1923 they were driven out of towns and herded into township ghettos which no one could enter but themselves. Even their own families had no right to be there, because when they reached the age of 16 they had to get permission to live with their parents; and their parents were only tolerated as long as they provided labour for industry and commerce. They were mostly unskilled and their wages were very low.

[THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST] As a teacher did you have to carry a pass?

[Gwala] Yes, everyone carried a pass, every day, all day.

[THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST] And were you stopped by the police and asked to produce your pass?

[Gwala] Often. It happened to every African, teacher or no teacher. It was terrible. I suppose the only people who escaped were the priests, because they carried their own badge around their necks.

[THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST] What made you go in for teaching in the first place?

[Gwala] I grew up in the rural areas and the only occupation of importance was teaching.

[THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST] Your father was a deacon in the Lutheran church. Didn't you feel like following him into the church?

[Gwala] I never liked the church. My brother and I used to run away from church. The only time we went to church was when we wanted to get some new clothes because if we didn't go to church we wouldn't get new clothes. Once we got our new clothes we kept away from church. There was great rigidity in the church. The priest would torment you with threats that you would roast in hell if you sinned. Our minds were really tortured. No one wanted to be roasted.

[THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST] Was this your father who tortured you or some other priest?

[Gwala] All of them. We used to have to say prayers when we went to bed, we had to pray, but our father was a rich peasant who had cattle and lots of land and he used to hire casual labourers. He used to slave us. My mother was an ordinary woman from traditional parents. She was barely literate.

[THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST] Could she read to you?

[Gwala] No, no.

[THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST] As a boy did you have to go into the country looking after the cattle?

[Gwala] That was a ritual. Every African boy had to go into the country to look after the cattle.

[THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST] Did you have electric light in your home and running water?

[Gwala] Oh no! Even now there is no electric light or running water in the countryside, though the white farmer might have them.

[THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST] So could you read at night?

[Gwala] Yes, we used lamps, not candles. It wasn't easy. You read lying on your stomach or on your side. Life was hard but we thought it was good because we knew no better.

[THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST] How far did you go at school?

[Gwala] I went as far as Junior Certificate at school and then went for teacher training.

[THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST] Were your classes held in English?

[Gwala] Yes of course. Zulu was taught as a subject but everything had to be taught in English. History, science and myths were my favourite subjects.

[THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST] Did they teach you the history of the Zulu people?

[Gwala] No, they taught us the history of South Africa, the white history of South Africa.

[THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST] And the Battle of Blood River and all that stuff?

[Gwala] Yes, all that battles. Everything was taught from the white point of view. The Africans were always wrong.

[THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST] Were all your teachers white?

[Gwala] Even our African teachers taught the masters' history as if they were the masters themselves.

[THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST] And when did you learn the real history of South Africa?

[Gwala] Only when I joined the Communist Party and learned something about the history of South Africa in Europe. Then I began to realise that what we had been taught at school was more indoctrination than history.

[THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST] Did that come as a shock?

[Gwala] It came as a real shock because the history we are taught finally becomes your own oppressor, the master becomes the master and you remain the subject. You can do nothing right. The master is always right.

#### Into Trade Unions

[THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST] After joining the Communist Party you decided to give up teaching and go into trade unionism?

[Gwala] Yes. Another teacher James Hadebe, who was also a member of the Communist Party, and I used to go out after school and visit factories and address the workers on trade unions. Finally I was asked to leave teaching and take up trade union work.

[THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST] Who asked you?

[Gwala] The Party asked me.

[THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST] Was anyone else organising trade unions at the time?

[Gwala] Not that I know of, only the Party. There were the old trade unions like the Building Workers' Union, the Typographical Workers' Union, the Amalgamated Engineering Workers' Union and other unions organised under the S.A. Trades and Labour Council—white unions with no black members.

[THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST] So all the new unions were largely for black workers?

[Gwala] Yes, for African and Indian workers. There was a very small Coloured community in Pietermaritzburg.

[THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST] And it was only the Communist Party that was organising these workers?

[Gwala] Yes, it was only the Party that was organising these workers.

[THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST] What was the ANC doing at that time?

[Gwala] There was no ANC. And even when the ANC was revived in the middle of 1944 it wasn't interested in the trade unions.

[THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST] But that was the year in which you joined the ANC. Why did you join the ANC?

[Gwala] I was taught by the Party that an oppressed person had to fight the national struggle as well as the class struggle, and that to fight national oppression you had to be in the ANC and strengthen it.

[THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST] Did the work of Party members help to revive the ANC?

[Gwala] Yes, quite a lot. Before long the ANC in Pietermaritzburg was strong and active. The leading personnel in the ANC there were Selby Msimang, the provincial secretary, and his brother Oliver. And who was also very helpful was the retired ex-President of the ANC, J. T. Gumede, who was living in Pietermaritzburg at that time. He had a very positive attitude towards the Party. We used to invite him to address trade union meetings. He used to tell us about his experiences in the Soviet Union and other countries. He was a great admirer of the Soviet Union. Incidentally the ANC didn't invite him when it had meetings.

[THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST] One of the pupils you taught at school was Moses Mabhida, who said he learned his politics from you and later became general secretary of the Communist Party. Can you tell us something about him?

[Gwala] We were staying in the same area—Slangspruit—but Mabhida was from a very poor family. His father worked at the municipal beerhall as a cleaner. Mabhida had to find money for his own schooling but he was a very brilliant scholar. I was organising the students there into a Youth Club with the aim of giving them political education, and Mabhida was one of the young people who distinguished themselves. He left school in 1942 to work for a co-operative society until he left home to do trade union work, and afterwards work for the Party and the ANC.

[THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST] Did Mabhida also join the Party before he joined the ANC?



[Gwala] Yes.

[THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST] At this time the leadership of the Congress was shifting from the conservatives to more radical elements. What kind of impact did this have?

[Gwala] Under the Kameo group the Indian Congress had been as dead as the ANC in Pietermaritzburg. At that time most Party members were in the trade union movement. When the Anti-Segregation Council was organized in the mid-forties we went to the workers so that the Indian Congress could be strengthened. I remember the Chemical Workers' Union had a big Indian membership and later when I organized the Municipal Workers' Union we had them registered on the basis of the Indian membership. We got a lot of co-operation and later the progressive group took over the NIC under the leadership of Monty Naicker.

[THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST] How did you get on with Dr Naicker?

[Gwala] Perhaps this will explain it. When we were organizing for the June 26, 1950 stay-away in protest against the Suppression of Communism Bill, Champion, who was leader of the ANC at the time, chickened out. We in the ANC Youth League then asked Monty Naicker to take over and he led the stay-away of 1950.

[THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST] When did you join the Youth League?

[Gwala] In fact we organized it in 1948. We felt that the ANC had to be gingered up. The ANC consisted mostly of old people in those days. There was no women. The biggest element was the chiefs. I remember at one ANC conference many of the chiefs were drunk and did not know what was going on. Even the treasurer was a chief and he also did not know what was happening. There was already a Youth League in the Transvaal and we felt we should organize a Youth League in Natal.

The idea that the ANC Youth League was organized by the intellectuals from Fort Hare university should be corrected. The initiative for the formation of the Youth League came from the Party. We in the Party had the Young Communist League, but we had a problem getting the YCL into the townships. So it was felt that a Youth League should be formed in the ANC and this would provide the basis for recruitment into the YCL. I remember that this issue was discussed when I attended a Party school in Johannesburg in 1943.

[THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST] How do you explain the fact that the ANC Youth Leaguers in the beginning took quite a strong stand against the Communist Party?

[Gwala] When the ANC Youth League was formed it was felt that the question of leadership had to be left in the hands of the Africans themselves. It was then that the African intellectual like Lembede and others came in with their ultra-nationalism and anti-communism. But most of them changed later.

## The Communist Party

[THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST] Can you tell us about your feelings on the dissolution of the Communist Party in 1950?

[Gwala] When the Nationalist Government was threatening to ban the Party, the question that exercised the minds of the comrades was whether to go underground, to defy, to lie low, disband and group later. When I attended the Party congress in 1948, there were already signs that some people were taking fright. Some of the "stalwarts" who had been seen in 1944, 1945, 1946 and 1947 were not there, including some members of the Central Committee. The Party does not organize on the permission of the ruling class. If we were banned we should immediately have gone underground. I assumed when the Party was dissolved that this would be followed by regrouping and reorganization.

[THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST] In your time you have been a member of the ANC, the SACP [South African Communist Party], active in the trade unions. How would you describe yourself?

[Gwala] I have always felt that the class struggle is the key question in the modern class-divided society and that the only organization that truly reflects the aspirations of the people and that would lead the people to emancipation is the Communist Party. When it comes to the trade unions, they have limitations. They are the product of the bourgeois system and fight for limited objectives, conditions of employment and so on. As for the national question, being the product of the development of society itself, it is linked with the question of bourgeois democracy. Democracy in bourgeois society means that everyone has the vote, but you can have a black prime minister, a black president and black cabinet ministers and still have people going hungry and homeless. The only people who have the answers to these problems are those armed with the most advanced theory of our times, Marxism-Leninism, and that is our Communist Party.

[THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST] So in your view, we won't get the ideal democracy in South Africa until we have achieved socialism.

[Gwala] I wouldn't put it that way because our ideas of democracy are relative. I have been watching the people who are running away from the German Democratic Republic saying they want democracy and freedom. But in the past we have seen some of these "refugees" come to South Africa and they turn out to be fascists who support the apartheid regime. And what do Margaret Thatcher and George Bush know about democracy? Their CIA [Central Intelligence Agency] organizes to overthrow and assassinate the leaders and democratically elected representatives in other countries, they support Savimbi in Angola or the Mujaheddin in Afghanistan. The Communist Party fights for a democracy of a completely new type which will finally be based

on a classless society.  
Socialism and Internationalism

[THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST] What do you feel about perestroika and glasnost?

[Gwala] In so far as they are concerned with improving socialism, with improving the well-being of the people I am in favour. But there are some features which I don't like. I tend to agree with Brezhnev on internationalism. If someone attacks one of us, he attacks us all. We have to defend one another, and I don't see why the imperialists should be given so much latitude to pick us off one by one. Those who say they want private enterprise in the socialist countries are not concerned with democracy. The basic question is: who controls the means of production? Must they return to private ownership or remain in the hands of the people? Secondly, I feel those who defend socialism should be given their due. People like Stalin must be given their place. You can criticise him for the mistakes he made but you must respect his achievements.

[THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST] You spoke earlier about Gumedé and his visit to the Soviet Union. Can you tell us something about what the Soviet Union meant to you in your political life?

[Gwala] In South Africa there is both abject poverty and extreme wealth. When we read history we find that similar conditions prevailed in Tsarist Russia as they had to change those conditions to bring about a new society. The Soviet Union has been a living example of socialism to us, a beacon to our working class.

[THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST] Are you optimistic about the present situation in the trade union movement in South Africa?

[Gwala] I am very optimistic, but with reservations. I'm optimistic because we have never had such a massive trade union organisation in South Africa as we have now, with the biggest federation COSATU (Congress of South African Trade Unions) in the whole history of the movement. And the workers want to move on to a new society, to socialism. Party literature is widely distributed and well-received in the trade unions. Whenever you have a demonstration or a funeral you see the Party flag.

On the other hand, I think we must take account of the divisions in the trade union world, between the World Federation of Trade Unions and the ICFTU (International Federation of Christian Trade Unions). Many of the trade unions at home, while not being affiliated directly to the ICFTU, are affiliated to the international secretariats which are affiliates of the ICFTU body. This causes a certain amount of perturbation, because these people are pouring money into the trade unions at home and also into the mass democratic movement. Unless we expose this commercialism we might find ourselves working with the forces of imperialism.

[THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST] What do you feel about the National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU)?

[Gwala] We must try to win over the trade unions in NACTU and we must try to get the NACTU leadership to work with COSATU. Of course there are some mischievous elements within NACTU. There are those who want to project the image of exclusivity, that is in the first place an Africanist image, and secondly a black consciousness image. And there are elements who come with Trotskyist ideas, the so-called workerists. But I think these elements are not having a field day as they did initially.

#### Black Consciousness

[THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST] Throughout your career you must have had to deal with this problem of Africanism, pan-Africanism, black consciousness, whatever you call this sort of exclusiveness tendency amongst certain of the black groups in South Africa. What is the answer to these groups?

[Gwala] Well, first of all Africanism, this "blackism" if you may call it that, did not originate with the black consciousness movement. It started as early as the last century when those priests broke away to form what they called the "black house" and the beginning of political consciousness amongst the oppressed in South Africa. You can only understand this if you understand the colonial conditions that existed in South Africa. The white people were the colonial settlers, the ones who were running the administrative organs of the country. The oppressed were excluded from this on the grounds of colour and race. Black consciousness had its positive role at one time, but for us it is not a question of replacing one bourgeoisie with another, but replacing the oppressive social system with a better one. It is not a question of blacks getting into the shoes of Oppenheimer and Gavin Relly, the black consciousness people today use the ideas of socialism as the working class as a smoke-screen because in fact they are fighting against the very socialism of the working class.

[THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST] What do you say to those who today argue that it is not only the socialist countries that are in crisis, but the very theory of Marxism-Leninism that is in crisis?

[Gwala] I am not aware that Marxism-Leninism is in crisis. When there is a crisis, I always look up my Marxism-Leninism to solve the crisis that faces us. In the socialist countries our people sometimes had an idealistic approach to socialism. Socialism gets stronger by ridding itself of waste material and that is what is happening in the socialist countries today. You have to advance. You can't rest on your laurels and remain in inertia. You have to keep revolutionising your own bureaucratic organs. The fight for survival is over and the competition with capitalism is today an ideological one—you must improve the standard of living of the people.

[THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST] Do you don't fear for the future of socialism?

[Gwala] Not at all. I think the imperialists are too ambitious if they think that a country like the Soviet Union will go capitalist. In a country like the GDR you will have to kill every communist if you want to go back to capitalism. I have no fear that socialism will be overthrown by the forces of darkness.

[THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST] What is it in Marxism-Leninism that you find so enlightening?

[Gwala] Marxism-Leninism is not a bible where you find prayers and you say them to ease your heart and soul. Marxism-Leninism is an inspiration and a guide to action. It is a general theory which makes it possible for struggling people throughout the world to solve their problems. Take the question of ungovernability in South Africa. If you go to the bible it will tell you that suffering and oppression are an act of God. Our ancestors will tell you about spirits. It is only Marxism that enables you to analyse the contradictions in south African society. It is Marxist dialectics which enables you to calculate the strength of opposing forces and decide what is to be done. That is why we are going forward today. Our people have no weapons, but they are going forward and will defeat the enemy. The enemy is getting weaker by the day, but we are getting stronger.

[THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST] You have read The Path to Power, the Programme of the South African Communist Party adopted at its 7th Congress. Do you think this Programme has the capacity to mobilise large sections of our people?

[Gwala] The Programme has already become a household word among our people, amongst the workers in the trade unions particularly. It shows them the way forward. It give them the answers they have been looking for.

#### \* De Beers Establishes Company in Switzerland

##### \* 'Not Influenced by ANC'

34000532 Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English  
7 Mar 90 p 1

[Article by Robert Gentle]

[Text] De Beers, the conglomerate controlling 80 percent of the world's diamond trade, has hived off its foreign interests into a Swiss-based company to be called De Beers Centenary AG.

Based in Lausanne, it will hold foreign elements of the UK-based Central Selling Organisation (CSO) and investments in Minorco and Anglo American Corporation of South America, as well as investments in the Far East and other parts of Africa.

Based on 1989 provisional results, the attributable earnings and equity accounted earnings of these foreign

businesses would have amounted respectively to 80 percent and 60 percent of the total.

De Beers' local interests will continue to be held through De Beers itself.

Kin Bentley reports from London that initial reaction to the decision was that De Beers had begun a "pull-out from SA [South Africa]."

THE EVENING STANDARD said yesterday that "mining giant De Beers is leading the pull-out of SA in the wake of the ANC [African National Congress]'s threat to nationalise the mining industry."

But the first observation De Beers chairman Julian Ogilvie Thompson made when he announced the move yesterday afternoon was that it had nothing to do with recent comments by the ANC.

"It is in no way a reflection on current political developments in SA," he said, adding that such a move must obviously have been planned from some time ago.

Neither was it a disinvestment, Ogilvie Thompson said, as no SA assets had been sold and no cash had been transferred via either the commercial or financial rand.

The restructuring confirmed persistent rumours in the market since Tuesday that De Beers was about to "do a Richemont"—a reference to Rembrandt's hiving off in 1988 of its foreign interests into Swiss-based company Richemont.

Initial reaction from local analysts was that the move was a good one for De Beers shareholders and that today would see considerable gains for the share on world stock exchanges.

Ogilvie Thompson said the restructuring would:

- Enable shareholders to better identify the earnings, dividend and assets attributable to foreign and SA groups;
- Provide shareholders with securities representing direct interests in, and dividends from, the foreign and SA groups;
- Enable the foreign and SA groups to better develop their overall businesses;
- Facilitate the conduct of international business and access to international capital markets.

Asked why De Beers had not made Centenary a separate entity, Ogilvie Thompson said De Beers and Centenary should co-operate rather than act against each other. For this reason the two groups would be headed by identical boards of directors.

De Beers equity shareholders will now hold—in addition to their existing De Beers shares—new securities representing direct interests in the Centenary group.



**\* Seen as Warning to ANC**

34000532 Johannesburg *BUSINESS DAY* in English  
8 Mar 90 p 9

[Article by Kin Bentley]

[Text] London—De Beers' decision to set up a separate Swiss company to hold its non-SA [South Africa] assets was seen yesterday as a "warning shot across the bows" of Nelson Mandela and the ANC [African National Congress].

If nationalisation becomes a reality, say brokers James Capel, the company, in cutting its losses and severing ties with SA, would be able to float off the new company and salvage 60 percent of its assets.

It adds it would be surprised if other SA companies with considerable foreign assets—including Anglo American Corporation—did not follow the De Beers move.

James Capel's SA analyst John Taylor said yesterday De Beers shares, which were trading at about \$23 yesterday, were not expected to rise above \$30 in the next three to four months.

In the event of a future government wanting to introduce a communist or similar system, the "staple" which links De Beers shares to those of the new company, De Beers Centenary, could be loosened.

Any government could "nationalise the SA side, but can't touch the other."

The restructuring was also seen by Tim Read, director of mining research for Smith New Court, as providing a "lifeboat" for De Beers should the situation deteriorate.

Taylor was asked to comment on Read's view that the two companies should have been totally separated for the overseas group to realise its full potential. This would have had a very damaging effect on the SA economy, he said.

"It is not the type of signal De Beers would have wanted to send out."

Taylor, who has just returned from a visit to SA, said he "basically regretted" the move, but added "in many ways we view this as a bit of a warning shot to Mr Mandela."

There remained "so much potential" in SA. Given the current pace of change, he said, it was only a matter of time before all sanctions were lifted and SA became "part of the world again."

"But to succeed it is vital that SA have access to capital markets." Foreign investors, however, would not lend in a situation where companies in which they invested stood the chance of being nationalised.

The West was "cock-a-hoop" about what was happening in Eastern Europe, where socialism was on the retreat.

To compete, SA had to establish a free market-based economy, Taylor said.

Edward West reports the influential *FINANCIAL TIMES* Lex column said yesterday the reorganisation of De Beers seemed like a judicious compromise.

A complete separation of the SA and overseas interests would have smacked too heavily of deserting the sinking ship. Anglo American had plenty of SA interests and would doubtless remember the shock to the Hong Kong markets when Jardine Matheson moved Domicile.

However much De Beers protested the move had nothing to do with ANC talk of nationalisation, the move would make the task of avoiding threats of state control that much easier.

THE *FINANCIAL TIMES* columnist wrote that old city hands were recalling yesterday when Nestle devised a similar scheme for its US interests during World War II.

**\* Commentary by Robert Gentle**

34000532 Johannesburg *BUSINESS DAY* in English  
8 Mar 90 p 8

[Article by Robert Gentle: "Split Puts De Beers Above Dangers of Nationalisation"]

[Text] The De Beers restructuring has done more than confirm that the bulk of its assets are abroad. By formalising its foreign holdings into the Swiss-based company Centenary, the conglomerate will be virtually nationalisation-proof.

What was previously a de facto situation, given the international scope of De Beers operations—80 percent of its attributable earnings are generated abroad—will become de jure if, as expected, the proposal is ratified.

Nelson Mandela has repeated the ANC [African National Congress] policy of nationalising mines, banks and "monopoly industries." That may or may not be modified, but if an ANC-controlled government nationalised the new De Beers, it would get precious little.

This week De Beers announced attributable profit for the year to December 1989 rose 37 percent to R2.87bn. Had the new set-up been in operation, only R579m would have accrued to De Beers in SA [South Africa].

Simpson McKie mining analyst Rodney Yaldwin, working on the R90 share price De Beers reached yesterday, says a mere 15 percent of its R34bn market capitalisation now officially remains in SA.

This translates into the SA elements of the Central Selling Organisation (CSO), the diamond research laboratory, investments in Anglo American companies and the local diamond mines.

These are the Kimberley, Koffiefontein, Finsch, Namaqualand and Premier mines, which in 1988 only brought in 8-billion (one-third) of the 24-billion carats of De

Beers production—a proportion that has been decreasing over the past few years.

This spells an ever smaller proportion of diamond revenue coming into the SA portion of De Beers. The heart of the CSO marketing arm in London will hold the diamonds, and the added value profits will accrue to Centenary in Switzerland.

So will the other two-thirds of De Beers' current diamond production, from Consolidated Diamond Mines (CDM) in Namibia and Debswana mines in Botswana. The bulk of De Beers' diamond production, mined just across the SA border, might as well be coming out of the ground in Switzerland.

Nevertheless, De Beers' chairman Julian Ogilvie Thompson said at the Press conference confirming the restructuring that it had nothing to do with recent political developments.

Ogilvie Thompson evaded repeated attempts to pin down just when the idea to hive off foreign interests was formulated ("When does an idea start?"). He eventually said, "Sometime last year."

In Britain the move was almost unanimously viewed as "political insurance" against possible nationalisation. THE FINANCIAL TIMES Lex column said: "However much De Beers may protest that the move is nothing to do with the ANC, it will make the task of avoiding the threat of state control that much easier."

Observers both here and abroad also spoke of what they saw as the fragility of the "stapled" De Beers-/Centenary units which will now trade on world stock exchanges in place of the original De Beers shares.

"All that is needed is one board meeting to have those shares unstapled if the nationalisation threat becomes real," says a local mining analyst.

In that scenario, he says, Centenary would float off into international waters, far from the reaches of any nationalising government. Like Rembrandt's separate Swiss-based company Richemont, it would lead a life of its own, no longer under any SA shadow and more able to integrate itself into the world economy.

For the moment the staple remains, and De Beers and Centenary trade as one share. But the lesson of the nationalisation of Anglo American's copper mines in Zambia appears to have been learned.

Sensing the fragility of staples, THE TIMES says, "Even without nationalisation, we can expect the two companies to drift apart over the years as the staple rusts away."

The other point that has not been lost on investors is that while the separation of local and off-shore interests makes the relative importance of De Beers' local and foreign activities that much clearer, it also serves the convenient purpose of clearly crystallising the conglomerate's nationalisation element.

The stapled unit is effectively saying that barely a fifth of De Beers is able to be nationalised. A major potential element of uncertainty is therefore removed.

Just as companies being courted by predators have in their share price a bid element over and above their fair market value, the new De Beers Centenary unit should have a fluctuating "nationalisation element" that will wax and wane according to economic pronouncements by Mandela and the ANC.

THE FINANCIAL TIMES, echoing the unstapling scenario, says: "Indeed, merchant bankers may even now be beaver away devising schemes to help investors separate their interest in the two shares."

"Even placing apparently undemanding price-attributable earnings ratios of 10 on the overseas interests and five on the SA businesses gives a share price of \$27, well above yesterday's \$22 London close."

A note of caution comes from Richard Stuart, mining analyst from Martin & Co, who suggests that the international nature of the diamond trade means the restructuring is nowhere near as sinister as might appear.

"Of course the move makes them nationalisation-proof," he says. "The argument must have been there in the back of their minds. But it is also a logical thing to do for purely commercial reasons."

Either way, the reasons which led Rembrandt to set up Richemont and now De Beers to set up Centenary are likely to concentrate both business and political minds.

## Angola

### 'Official Source' Confirms 16 Apr UNITA Talks

AB1204155390 Paris AFP in French 1444 GMT  
12 Apr 90

[Text] Luanda, 12 Apr (AFP)—"Direct" negotiations between the Angolan Government of Jose Eduardo dos Santos and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA, armed opposition of Jonas Savimbi) will begin next Monday, 16 April, in Lisbon, Portugal, an Angolan official source, who asked to remain anonymous, told AFP today. These contacts will continue in Cape Verde at a date yet to be fixed, stated the same source, who refused to disclose the agenda for the talks. The deliberations will be held behind closed doors to avoid any publicity, which could cause the talks to fail, it was learned in Luanda.

The rank of the Angolan Government representatives will be "high," it was also learned, and they will have full authority to act to achieve the set peace objectives. At the first round of talks, the Angolan Government will brief UNITA officials on its new peace plan for Angola, the same source stated.

According to observers in Luanda, the provisions of this new plan are to be clearly "more moderate" than those of the previous plans proposed by the Angolan Government, which have always been rejected by UNITA.

This was the case in Gbadolite (Zaire) on 22 June 1989, as part of President Mobutu's mediation, it was observed in Luanda. President dos Santos and Mr. Jonas Savimbi then exchanged a handshake described as "historic" and signed a cease-fire, but the peace process quickly ended in a deadlock, and the cease-fire has since not been observed.

President dos Santos then stated that the attitude of the United States, which continued to give military support to the UNITA forces, had contributed much to the failure of the Gbadolite agreement.

Moreover, the Angolan Foreign Minister Pedro Castro van Dunem "Loy" "classified the mediation by Zaire as being of secondary importance, and he asserted that it was "doomed to disappear," in an interview published yesterday in O JORNAL DE ANGOLA. At the same time he expressed hope that the upcoming "direct" talks between the two parties to the conflict would be held "without foreign interference or intervention."

### Foreign Minister Criticizes Zairian Mediation

MB1204201390 Luanda ANGOP in French 1935 GMT  
12 Apr 90

[Text] Luanda, 12 Apr (ANGOP)—Angolan Foreign Minister Pedro de Castro van Dunem would prefer direct talks with UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] on national territory, in Cape Verde, or in some other African capital.

Angolan Foreign Minister Pedro de Castro van Dunem Loy said in an exclusive interview with O JORNAL DE ANGOLA on 10 April that "it would be a sign of maturity if these talks were held in Angola because ours is an internal conflict."

The Angolan foreign minister strongly criticized Zairian President Mobutu Sese Seko's mediation in resolving Angola's internal conflict.

Mr. van Dunem Loy criticized in particular the fact that the mediator had not circulated certain documents of interest to both sides in the conflict and cited the example of a counterproposal by the Angolan Government to a proposal by the mediator regarding a "cease-fire" between the two sides.

Foreign Minister van Dunem said the Angolan Government handed the counterproposal to the mediator on 27 December 1989 and it was delivered to absolutely nobody.

The Angolan foreign minister said: "We believe our brothers in Zaire really had a firm wish to help the Angolan people resolve their differences and achieve peace" but, he added, despite systematic denials by the Zairian Government that it was helping UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola], that gang intensified its action in northern Angola.

Foreign Minister van Dunem said "it was clear to everyone that the intensification of UNITA's criminal activities would not have been possible without a support base in a territory neighboring Angola."

The Angolan official said this explained UNITA's "spectacular" operations in northern Angola, adding Zairian President Mobutu Sese Seko was either conveniently unaware of what happened or "there were other agreements that ran counter to his interest as mediator and, more importantly, to the interests of the Angolan people."

### Cape Verdean Official Offers To Host Peace Talks

MB1304095990 Luanda Domestic Service  
in Portuguese 0600 GMT 13 Apr 90

[Text] Alirio Silva, Cape Verdean ambassador to Angola, yesterday stated the availability of his country for hosting direct negotiations between the Angolan Government and UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola].

In an interview with ANGOP in Luanda, Alirio Silva said he believes his country will not restrain itself from making evident its availability for a direct meeting between the sides involved in the conflict. He also stated that all requests that Angola might make in connection with this issue will always be favorably received by his



country. Alirio Silva said that the Cape Verdean Government has been taking a positive attitude toward the peace process under way in the People's Republic of Angola.

#### **ANGOP Establishes Links With China's XINHUA**

MB1304074390 Luanda ANGOP in Portuguese  
1945 GMT 12 Apr 90

[Text] Luanda, 12 Apr (ANGOP)—The ANGOLA PRESS agency (ANGOP) began in Luanda today (Thursday) a full-duplex [preceding two words in English] link with the XINHUA NEWS AGENCY.

With this link ANGOP's news service can be disseminated in Asia through XINHUA (Beijing), the capital of the PRC, within the framework of accords signed by both news agencies.

ANGOP already has links throughout the world, namely in Europe through AFP (Paris), TASS (Moscow), TANJUG (Belgrade), EFE (Madrid), LUSA (Lisbon), and its Lisbon bureau.

On the American continent, ANGOP has a delegation at the United Nations and service links with PRENSA LATINA (Havana), and an ANGOP office in Rio de Janeiro. In Africa, ANGOP has links with the PANAFRICAN NEWS AGENCY (PANA), AIM (Mozambique), ANG (Bissau), CABO-PRESS (Praia), and STP-PRESS (Sao Tome).

It should be pointed out that ANGOP has been in charge of the Non-aligned Movement's news agencies pool since June 1989.

#### **\* Details of Pik Botha's Visit to Luanda Noted**

90EF0303D Lisbon EXPRESSO in Portuguese  
3 Mar 90 p 16

[Text] South Africa has promised the Angolan Government that it will suspend all assistance to UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola], and in exchange, Luanda has guaranteed that it will influence the ANC [African National Congress] to soften its political attitudes toward Pretoria, according to what EXPRESSO was told by a reliable diplomatic source.

The agreement was reached during this week's visit to the Angolan capital by the South African minister of foreign affairs, Roelof "Pik" Botha. According to the same source, the two governments also agreed that Presidents Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Frederik de Klerk would hold a historic private meeting during Namibia's independence ceremonies 3 weeks from now.

It was also said that Pretoria has agreed to begin a program of unpublicized economic aid to Angola. Also

scheduled was a meeting between South African businessmen and Angolan authorities to take place soon at a foreign trade mission that Luanda maintains in London.

In addition to promising an end to apartheid and urging Angola to build a pluralist society, "Pik" Botha said in Luanda that the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] and UNITA should begin direct negotiations based on the positions they currently occupy in the field. That statement (which is likely to displease the guerrilla fighters following the latest offensive by FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola]) was reportedly made the day before yesterday at a breakfast with Botha's Angolan counterpart, Pedro Van Dunem "Loy," and the ambassadors of Portugal, France, the FRG, Great Britain, and Ivory Coast.

It is said in diplomatic circles that the absence of Kinshasa's representative from that meeting points to the progressive isolation of the mediator of the conflict, President Mobutu Sese Seko. Eduardo dos Santos told Botha that if Mobutu and UNITA did not respond to his latest peace proposals, FAPLA would step up the fighting in the south until it took Jamba, the guerrilla headquarters.

The Angolan Army is in fact preparing for more intense combat, as is shown by the fact that nearly all of the general staff is in Kuito, the capital of the province where the offensive is taking place.

Luanda continues to claim that it occupies Mavinga (although it says it has very few forces in that locality). The local airstrip cannot be used, however, since it was damaged by 27 craters caused by bombs dropped during the recent fighting.

#### **Luanda Criticizes United States**

According to the MPLA, Mobutu is continuing, with U.S. help, to provide the guerrilla fighters with equipment for attacks in Luanda province in the north. During this week's visit to the United States, Angolan Minister of Justice Franca Van Dunem delivered a letter from Eduardo dos Santos to President Bush. It included photographs of CIA aircraft delivering supplies to UNITA at Zairian bases. In his letter, the Angolan president reiterated his promise to hold elections within five years and to allow freedom of association, but not the formation of political parties, before then.

At the MPLA Central Committee meeting, which ended on the 26th of last month, a document pointing to the holding of free elections at some unspecified date in the future was approved. That document has not yet been made public. According to the resolution, the MPLA will no longer be the "vanguard party of the people," a change that will have to be ratified by the People's Assembly when it meets this weekend.

**\* Decisions of Central Committee Reviewed**

90EF0303C Lisbon O JORNAL in Portuguese  
2-8 Mar 90 p 28

[Article by L.F.]

[Text] The Central Committee of the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] has accepted the principle of free elections and a multiparty system in Angola. The proposal was backed by President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and won by a comfortable majority at the meeting held in Luanda from 24 to 27 February, according to what O JORNAL was told by an official source.

Those proposals will be submitted to the Angolan People's Assembly, which is due to meet today (Friday), for final approval, and only then will they be made public in Angola and internationally. Meanwhile, meetings between MPLA and UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] officials will be requested to assess reactions by Jonas Savimbi's movement to this "effort" by Jose Eduardo dos Santos to achieve peace in Angola. Diplomatic sources also confirmed to O JORNAL that those matters had already been the subject of informal talks between members of the Angolan and Portuguese Governments.

At the meeting by the MPLA Central Committee, it was decided specifically that Marxism-Leninism would be abandoned, that the party would be separated from the government, and also that the legislative branch would be separated from the executive branch. A future consequence of those decisions will be the choice of a speaker of the People's Assembly who will be independent of the president of the People's Republic of Angola. Also considered was the establishment of the office of prime minister, a function that has been performed until now by President Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

Another result of the MPLA's abandonment of Marxism-Leninism is that it will be possible for Christians and small landowners to join the party, something that has been prohibited until now. Also approved were permission for independents to be candidates to the state organizations of power and temporary cohabitation with civic associations. Those measures are seen as test balloons in preparation for the subsequent multiparty phase. As is known, the first of those associations—the Angolan Civic Association, with Joaquim Pinto de Andrade as its chairman—has already been given official status.

**Freedom of the Press**

The proposal was formally submitted to the Central Committee by a group of reformists headed by Lopo de Nascimento, formerly prime minister and now commissioner of Huila Province, which is the Angolan province regarded as having the best economic management. That proposal provided in particular for the defense of basic rights by adding the right to strike and freedom of the press to the Constitution.

This climate of change could already be felt during the visit which the South African minister of foreign affairs, Roelof "Pik" Botha, made to Luanda yesterday (Thursday). At a breakfast with his Angolan counterpart, Pedro Van Dunem "Loy," the keynote of the speeches was mutual acceptance of the abandonment of the single-party system in Angola and of apartheid in South Africa.

**\* UNITA's Chitunda on Military Situation**

90AF0002A Lisbon TEMPO in Portuguese  
1 Mar 90 p 40

[Telephone interview with UNITA vice president on 28 Feb during his visit to Washington by Joao Rosa]

[Text] Jeremias Chitunda is sole vice president of UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] and as such "the number two man" in that political-military organization. Yesterday while he was still in Washington he granted us an exclusive telephone interview. It focused on the current situation in Angola and the peace process there.

An engineer by profession, Jeremias Chitunda began by saying he had been in the U.S. capital "for several weeks. I was sent by Dr. Jonas Savimbi to underline to authorities in this country the seriousness of the confrontation now taking place in Angola. It is contrary to the interests of peace and the plans to achieve it that have been endorsed and proclaimed by the whole international community and especially by the Angolans. The conflict stems from the recent MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] offensive and the use by the FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] of chemical weapons during the fighting."

[TEMPO] Portuguese public opinion has been confused by sometimes contradictory accounts of the military situation in the Angolan theater. This is especially true with respect to the region of Mavinga and Jamba. What is in fact really happening?

[Chitunda] Mavinga and the entire region remains solidly in the control of UNITA.

I can also assure you there has been no bombardment of our provisional capital of Jamba.

Rather, we are mounting an effective resistance to toxic gas bombardments by the FAPLA. The bombardments have been against our troops and, above all, against civilian populations in the region.

In addition, our resistance has been translated into a more generalized and intensive nationwide struggle. Fighting is going on everywhere.

[TEMPO] Here in Portugal it is said that the FAPLA would never dare launch a direct attack at the "heart" of UNITA in Jamba until South Africa stopped giving you the operational advice and logistical support it provided in the past. Is this so?

[Chitunda] No. The aim of these yearly MPLA offensives is always to take Mavinga in order to launch an attack from there on Jamba. The one difference this year is a verifiably greater investment—nearly \$950 million—in this perennial military campaign. This operation is no exception except insofar as it involves a greater investment.

Meanwhile, Mavinga remains under absolute UNITA control as it has since 1981 when it was occupied by our forces. This despite the fact that MPLA's equipment is much better and more sophisticated than before. It now has tanks, armored cars, and assault vehicles. They're much more mobile in this offensive.

The FAPLA is still looking for ways to get around our air defenses which limit their planes to high altitude flights only. This keeps most of their bombs from hitting our military targets although they do inflict great damage on the region's civilian population.

In this regard it should be noted that all the MPLA is bombing in this offensive are the same positions it attacked in prior years. The bombing is more intense, but it has had no significant impact on the survival of the positions we've always held, particularly those of Mavinga and Jamba.

[TEMPO] Still, so much information about so many confrontations has never reached here before. Either the MPLA has been more successful than in the past or news about their successes has gotten more play. What do you think?

[Chitunda] In the past two years the MPLA bombed the same positions it's bombing now around Mavinga. They certainly have concentrated their fire power more, and they've made more concentrated use of their armored vehicles and tanks. They've exacted a correspondingly greater tactical and operational commitment from the Soviet strategists in their service.

On the other hand, the MPLA has clearly taken advantage of certain changes in the region's geopolitical conditions. I refer specifically to the independence of Namibia through which several rear guard columns have been infiltrated into UNITA territory.

Despite all this MPLA has so far failed to take a single inch of liberated territory.

What's more, the announced MPLA takeover of Mavinga in early February is false. The proof is that despite many invitations no foreign journalists have yet been taken there. They remain in Luanda waiting to make the hypothetical trip.

By contrast, several journalists invited by UNITA have been to and are now in Mavinga confirming our absolute control of the place and the region.

[TEMPO] We've also heard that the United States is considering an international declaration that any attack on Jamba would be regarded as aggression against an ally

and thus subject to direct retaliation. Have you learned anything in Washington that suggests the U.S. might exert diplomatic pressure on this basis?

[Chitunda] No. Besides, the situation wouldn't justify such an attitude on the part of the United States. The Bush administration is holding fast to its position that this offensive represents a setback to the peace process in Angola. This is both a necessary and an adequate response.

It just goes to show how international efforts and interest translate into the cease-fire and peace in Angola. Underlying all this is the wish to see a multiparty democracy established in our country following the inevitable holding of free and democratic elections.

The international community is no longer willing to settle for less than these fundamental requirements for a solution to the Angolan problem. This includes the United States. And principally ourselves.

Political developments worldwide and even those in Namibia justify this position. It has most certainly gained more merit than ever as a result of events in South Africa. In recent days even the people of Nicaragua have freely elected their own government.

[TEMPO] And do you expect Portugal to take an appropriate part in this process when the time comes?

[Chitunda] Particularly since the recent visit of President Savimbi to Portugal we've had indications that your country will strengthen its adherence to the current process of seeking a just peace for Angola. This is bound to mean a great deal to all parties with a good faith commitment to this process.

Neither Portugal nor any other country that has achieved and maintained democracy and respect for human rights can be indifferent to the struggle in Angola. It shares the same, perfectly normal desire for free general elections. And not in some distant future but right away. And with regional and international conditions now so favorable, this is truer than ever.

[TEMPO] Here there are some who say that Portuguese officers are leading the present FAPLA offensive against UNITA. Is this so?

[Chitunda] There is no doubt this is true, and it should be condemned. But we continue to distinguish the conduct and actions of mercenaries ultimately in the pay of Dr. Alvaro Cunhal from the sentiments and attitudes of the people and leaders of Portugal.

[TEMPO] Can you explain how these Portuguese military strategists wound up in Angola?

[Chitunda] Several years ago there were nearly 5,000 of them in Angola. It's just that now the Soviet military advisers with the FAPLA are probably getting more and better use out of them as part of their team.



[TEMPO] How does UNITA now regard the evolution of the peace process in Angola?

[Chitunda] Above all, it's indispensable and urgent that the cease-fire talks be resumed. This in turn depends on the sincerity of the MPLA. This of course means the immediate withdrawal of FAPLA forces from the advance positions they now occupy and their return to the positions they held before the present offensive. In the second place, we will not forego the freeing by the MPLA of all political prisoners.

Finally, it is also indispensable that the cease-fire be subject to verification by two or three countries, among them Portugal.

Then, once an interim government is in place, we can move on to talks about political solutions to the Angolan problem. Most important among these must be the holding of free general elections.

The timetable for the solution would determine when to bring up the fact that we have two armies and must decide how to merge them.

These items add up to a considerably shortened agenda for a peace agreement acceptable to the overwhelming majority of the Angolan people and the international community.

#### \* MPLA Hard Line Wins if Mavinga Falls

90EF0304C Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICIAS  
in Portuguese 2 Mar 90 pp 43-44

[Article by Joffre Justino: "A State of Mind Called Mavinga"]

[Text] As this article is being written, the essential thing seems to be that the FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] is fighting the FALA [Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] between 15 and 17 km from Mavinga, and has succeeded in getting close to the supply units (after taking more than 10 days to cover 100 km, with regular air bombardment support) in the rear guard, thus resolving a serious problem. On the other hand, the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] forces are said to have obtained new military support now from the United States, which will enable them to neutralize the aerial forces of the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola]-PT [Labor Party].

An equally essential development appears to be the fact that members of the Angolan Civic Association (ACA), a group of Angolan democrats independent of the MPLA-PT and the UNITA, are currently visiting Luanda. That is, provided that this visit results in what all of those following this process desire—peace and democracy in Angola, and perhaps through Angolan mediation, an end to a civil war between Angolans.

Since Gbadolite, there has been a long period characterized by an impasse and a crescendo of small hostile

movements, culminating in this offensive against Mavinga, and perhaps against Jamba, along with a Cuban diplomatic counteroffensive. Following a minor skirmish, Cuba found a justification for announcing that its troops would not be withdrawn from Angola, since the UNITA had formally and publicly offered an apology for this incident, one natural in any guerrilla war. But meanwhile, this had already been superseded by the resumption of the Cuban withdrawal.

This complex of circumstances serves to strengthen my conviction that Cuba has an autonomous strategy for Angola (and southern Africa), even as opposed to that of the USSR. As I see it, Cuba wants to unify the radical forces in Angola, Namibia, South Africa, and Mozambique, and through this unity, to prevent a process of moderation in the complex of countries mentioned above from definitively making it a minor force on the international scene.

Within the MPLA-PT, the SWAPO [South West African People's Democratic United Front], the ANC [African National Congress], and the FRELIMO [Mozambique Liberation Front], Cuba has (and in key military positions) a support complex which is strong and longstanding (established during the anticolonial and antiracist struggles). If it lost its capacity to intervene in view of the future democratization of these countries, this regional power would be reduced to its real economic and geostrategic level, which is that of a small country. This would certainly not suit the chauvinistic ideology of Fidel Castro and his followers.

In truth, such a loss of influence would rapidly lead to the collapse of Castro's dictatorship, and it is well-known how rarely dictators are willing to lose power and influence.

#### The Duty of Society

My friend the Angolan writer Jose Eduardo Agualusa gives a marvelous account in his first novel, entitled "The Incantation—An Account of the Unhappy Events Which Occurred in This Our Land of Sao Paulo de Assuncao de Luanda on 16 June 1911," of the past and present difficulties in the relationship between the urban strata in Angola and those in the rural sector.

Taking it as truth, we quote from a handwritten document found in Luanda in 1874, since had it not been found, many others like it would have emerged. "Portugal is poor, but even if it were rich, it would be stupid to think of such a thing when the issue is the free exercise of the rights of a people. Therefore, throw off the yoke and the chains which have bound you for 4 centuries. Do you not see that the Dembos blacks are emancipated? Do they have some education?"

But despite these revolutionary and pro-independence pamphlets, despite the battles in the East, in Luanda, and among the western Benguelas, between the rural Angolans and the Portuguese Army, the urban people have been unable to resolve their fears born of their double

mistrust of the Portuguese colonialists and the tribalism involved in the struggles mentioned above. And just toward the middle of this century, the urban nationalist ideals were revived and focused in the MPLA, which, moreover, has not yet been able to overcome the suspicion which is as ancient as the Angolan families.

Mavinga is there at the heart of such suspicions, and as a result it represents an old and evil state of mind which the citizens of Angola must put behind them.

Mavinga represents an Angolan faction's need to impose itself upon the whole of Angolan society, out of fear of the past and the unknown, out of fear of a rich history, which could be included among the heroic, romantic, and amusing novels which can be derived from it, as Jose Eduardo Agualusa proved with "The Incantation." Mavinga represents an imposition on Jose Eduardo dos Santos and the moderate faction of the MPLA-PT, which seeks to negotiate with an organized opponent to continue a guerrilla war for another 20 years. There could be no alternative other than the destruction of what remains of the Angolan infrastructures, in an effort to demonstrate power. This has already been initiated, with Luanda being left without water for 4 weeks.

Mavinga does not represent a celebration, and it will not be an Angolan victory or a tea dance. It is a tragedy, with bombs and defoliants raining down on rural and civilian populations, and on a rebel army. Mavinga is Alentejo upside down, and therefore both have a right to exist.

In a period of great changes, even the most brilliant intellectuals err. This is certainly the explanation for the mistake made by Sotto Mayor Cardia when, in a recent issue of a Lisbon daily newspaper, he denied the right to armed resistance (although he voted in favor of it in the 1975 Constitution of the Republic in Lisbon), forgetting the right of a people to democracy.

#### These Painful Changes

We are living in a period of major changes (and also painful ones), with a collapsing empire—that of the Soviet Union—generating complex conflicts. Among these conflicts is that in Angola, which was born in the Brezhnev era, and is today being nurtured by Fidel Castro.

Out of these conflicts, a new world will be born, one which we hope will be based on democracy, the defense of human rights, and the peaceful resolution of conflicts, giving mankind the opportunity to undertake to conquer space in this vast and infinite universe we have today and which we want to know, setting out from this little vessel called earth.

To support the Mavingas of this earth, these desperate offensives which kill civilians indiscriminately, which destroy plantations, and destroy the soil with chemical weapons—this is not worthy of a humanistic socialism which, when it does not understand something, would do better to learn to listen, rather than talking or writing.

Resistance is an inalienable right of the peoples which cannot be exercised only when the existing political tools prevent its use. This is the reason for these painful changes. This is the reason for the need to be able to support Gorbachev's strategy in the USSR of moving toward the democratization of that country, and at the same time toward peace and democracy in Angola, against the interests of a militaristic faction of the MPLA-PT and a small power which exports armed conflicts to the world.

The fall of Mavinga would not mean victory for the MPLA-PT and defeat for the UNITA. What it would mean is victory for the radical factions in the MPLA-PT, and, of course, in the SWAPO, the ANC, and the FRELIMO, and the end for an undetermined period of time of any possibility of a peaceful transformation of the presently dictatorial regimes in southern Africa and apartheid into democratic governments.

In Luanda, as in Jamba, there are vast numbers of citizens who know this. Will this fact, however, be sufficient?

#### \* Strategy, Tactics Used in Mavinga Discussed

90EF0304B Lisbon SEMANARIO in Portuguese  
3 Mar 90 p 22

[Article by Jaime Nogueira Pinto]

[Text] For an understanding of a theater of operations like that in the southeastern part of Angola, where since the end of December 1989, a major FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] offensive has been developing against Mavinga (while at the same time, another offensive, in the Center-South and less intensive, is being waged from the west toward the east on the Yonde front), there are, in addition to the tactical and strategic aspects, major political factors. If we do not take them into consideration, we run the risk of failing to perceive either the present status of this decisive battle in the Angolan civil war or what will happen there in the near future.

The political factors begin with the need for a victory to restore the morale of Luanda's own troops, and to provide the government of Jose Eduardo dos Santos with an image of strength, while at the same time, just as the New York Agreements are stripping the guerrilla forces of their Cuban umbrella, destroying the concept of their invincibility.

Here another factor comes into play. It is the dogma established by Luanda for the justification of the war as such, to the effect that the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] is nothing but a minor tool of the political-military regime in Pretoria.

The corollary to this dogma was and is, for both domestic and foreign use, the claim that without the South African Defense Force (SADF), which rescued the UNITA when it was in extremis in 1985 and 1987, it

would easily have been crushed by the material strength and strategic superiority of the FAPLA.

As a result of these political factors, there will be major consequences seen in the course of the operation.

1. Centralization, on the highest level, of the operational decisions and leadership. It is the CEMFA [Armed Forces Chief of Staff] of the FAPLA, General Ndalu, himself, who is in command on the two fronts and is following the development of the operations from Cuito Cuanavale. And it is the Central Committee (CC) of the MPLA which has now, for example, decided to maintain the military pressure on Mavinga.

2. An overvaluation of the strength of the FAPLA and an undervaluation of that of the enemy. Ideological preconceptions are extremely dangerous in the conduct of a war. The FAPLA has found, also on the basis of some classic theses, that without either air or armored support, irregular or semi-regular forces could not hold back a determined offensive by forces possessing such resources in quantity (except along lines of resistance aided by natural obstacles—rivers, mountains). Once the Lomba is crossed, Mavinga would fall.

Things did not develop in this way. Although the FAPLA proved to have a better strategic concept on this occasion (deployment of forces to protect both flanks, to prevent the main column from being cut off), made a greater logistic effort, and above all had superior combat capacity, the fact is that the UNITA alone was able to deal with them.

Going into action along an almost obligatory route (Cuito-Cuanavale—the sources of the Cuzumbia—sources of the Lomba—Dinde—Mavinga), the UNITA troops have concentrated their efforts on cutting this supply line and have successfully intercepted the logistic convoys seeking to reach the front.

The following forces are operating on this front at present: around Mavinga, three tactical groups—one about 10 km north of the town, another about 10 km to the west, and, finally, another has entrenched itself to the west of the landing strip, which is not operational (it is the presence of this force here which explains Luanda's categorical position on the "taking of Mavinga"). About 40 km to the west, near the Dinde Lagoon, there is an advance command post (PCA) and another tactical group. These positions have been held for almost 3 weeks, with slight variations, with the principal UNITA force defending Mavinga, and the guerrilla units have been attacking the supply lines constantly.

It seems that some conclusions could be drawn from the geography of these FAPLA positions and the continued efforts of this force.

The similar distances (35 to 40 km) between the positions along the Cuito Cuanavale-Mavinga line, free of watercourses, suggests the intention of consolidating points of support, not only to establish the forces in

place, but above all, to ensure the passage of convoys for resupply. However, this could also serve as a line of retreat.

Everything is developing as if Luanda intended to maintain these forces throughout the rainy months, in order to be able to begin operations toward the south again at the beginning of the dry season.

This, however, would be a very risky gamble, because if the supply line were definitively cut, this would leave the forces to the west of the sources of the Lomba isolated, and with no choice but to surrender or submit to destruction.

It is these military consequences which may face the political leaders of the MPLA who chose to pursue the offensive, to continue the aerial bombardments, and to go ahead with the Yonde front. And also, taking the political cost into account, to put a permanent end to the "moderate" strategy, which at times seemed to prevail, calling for retreat and representing it as a gesture of goodwill and surrender to the diplomatic pressure for peace from Washington, Lisbon, and other African countries. But the high-ranking officers in the CC of the MPLA believe that retreat, with express acknowledgment of the defeat of the "final attack," would destroy their image and their credibility, after their recent triumphalism.

This is also the reason for the frenetic and even contradictory disinformation coming out of Luanda. Mavinga was "conquered" a number of times, and at a given point, Luanda even admitted that the UNITA had "reconquered" it. But the stories about the bombings of Jamba and a "wounded" Savimbi were nothing but wishful thinking. Beyond the crude disinformation provided to the media, there was other, more subtle, information made available to responsible political and military circles, which intimated the same sort of thing.

In view of the increasing problems, such as the withdrawal of the cooperative workers from Eastern Europe, although "volunteers" from the political police forces in that region, for whom life might become complicated in the near future, have come to replace them, the leaders in Luanda have put their hopes in an "all-out" effort, renewing the hope, for example, that after Namibia becomes independent on 21 March, they might finally find access from the south to the rear guard of the UNITA facilitated.

This wager would be based on the belief that Nujoma's political gratitude toward the MPLA would be much greater than his desire to keep the image of the new state, its domestic stability, and the policy of coexistence with the neighbors on track.

In any case, the die is cast, and the stakes are getting higher every day. Just as Fidel Castro seems determined to make no changes on his island, and to "die fighting," Jose Eduardo dos Santos seems to believe in maximalist formulas and to be attempting victory at all costs, which



is also a sign of despair. And those who are desperate are dangerous in the short run, but in the medium time range, their errors multiply and frenzy overtakes them. In other words, they may have tactical successes (or not even that), but time generally pushes them toward disaster.

**\* Reporter Describes Mood While Awaiting Peace**

90EF0304A Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICIAS  
in Portuguese 2 Mar 90 p 43

[Article by Luanda correspondent Carlos Ferreira: "All of the People of Angola Have a Right to Peace"]

[Text] There is talk of peace nowadays. Almost everywhere except in Angola. And its people deserve it. Its people have that right. After all, peace is one of the few words which alerts the hearers, makes their eyes shine, and leaves their hearts full of hope. On 23 February, a report was issued by the Ministry of Defense. Two fighter bombers attacked positions in Jamba, as a warning. VORGAN [Voice of the Black Rooster], the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] radio station, had no comment. It is known that it broadcasts from Botswana, using the relay stations of the Voice of America. The Central Committee of the government party is holding a special meeting, according to official reports, to debate the draft theses for the Third Congress. But much more than that will certainly be discussed. The complexity of the situation has certainly led the leadership of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA)-Labor Party to engage in another type of discussion (and possibly to reach conclusions), which as of this time still cannot be predicted.

One conclusion can easily be drawn from all of these turns and reverses. The leadership of the MPLA is seeking to win over the social base of support for the UNITA, mainly that situated abroad. And the economic measures, which are tending toward ever greater liberalization, set forth in law and made official, may, if implemented, allow the launching of the development of the process of reconstruction, while at the same time reassuring potential investors, who do not like the regimes called popular democracies very much.

This fits within a perspective which views the UNITA as if it were a movement setting forth a defense of the market economy in its bylaws and one which has, let us admit, a tendency toward socialism. The truth is that while as far as Luanda is concerned, Marxism is being increasingly modified, and is beginning to disappear slowly from political conversation, the supporters of Savimbi have also opted to forget some of the principles they had always defended. It seems to us that this is even true of their total defense of a broad area for maneuvering in power, which, after all, should belong to the peasant class, according to the Maoist theoretical norm.

Apparently, at least, there is a consensus in the center of government on the steps to be taken. And the reported bombing of Jamba was certainly designed to force

Savimbi to sit down at the negotiating table, in a weak position which would prevent him from demanding any more than President Jose Eduardo dos Santos is willing to give.

The congress to be held in December, as we have already commented, should in the logical sequence of things put a twist on the Marxist-Leninist option. The MPLA will resume its status as a liberation movement, in the sense that a national front will be established in which all of the leading political sectors will have a place.

Will this be the next step Jose Eduardo dos Santos will take? We are convinced that it is. Moreover, the way in which the independents, both those who have joined the MPLA and those outside it who have criticized it for many years, are reacting, suggests that some of them would be ready to return to the country, provided that there is a guarantee that they can move about, debate, question, and even share power, at least on the governmental level.

On the international level, also, it is clear that the position of the Soviet Union, which insists that the MPLA and the UNITA will have to resolve their problem without any kind of interference, is becoming ever more widely known. The EEC, which in terms of future advantages and counterparts seems to be farther along than the United States, is limiting itself to watching developments (at least publicly), since it has a more profound knowledge of the reality in Angola, probably because of being involved here in the field.

France has sent businessmen, Great Britain is going to do so, Italy is on the move, and Spain has been expanding its space—all of these countries doubtless being persuaded that 1990 will be the year of peace.

**Atmosphere in the Capital**

And what is the atmosphere in Luanda?

There is less policing, it is true, and the sense of withdrawal is practically gone now, and life is seeming to begin again. People, vehicles, and commerce are just beginning to move, and to become routine sights.

The clear impression we get is that everything is going to come together so that there will be peace.

Be that as it may, economically, everything will continue as before. After all, Angola has never been other than on the periphery of capitalism, and there it will stay.

Politically, and since it joined the World Bank and since the IMF [International Monetary Fund] has been present here, everything seems to be moving toward the gradual democratization of the system, accompanied by the consolidation of a national bourgeoisie which is beginning to be economically powerful.

This will therefore mean that there will be space for various movements in the political-ideological arena—

even the UNITA, which in many cases comes close (in the theoretical sense) to what some citizens are urging domestically.

It should come as no surprise, then, if in a future Central Committee elected at the Labor Party Congress in December, there appear simultaneously people as different politically as the current secretary for the ideological sector, Roberto de Almeida, and the Angolan ambassador to Egypt, Daniel Chipenda. The range may broaden further, depending on the basis of the agreements reached. There is one other thing shared in common, apart from the explicit desire of all to see a definitive resolution to the national problem. That is recognition of the constitutional legitimacy of President Jose Eduardo dos Santos. Jonas Savimbi calls him President Jose Eduardo, Mario de Andrade recognizes him as such, and even Holden Roberto is not challenging this fact.

#### Other Forces Involved

But other forces must be taken into account.

Within the country, there are many citizens whose merit is acknowledged, who are respected professionally and politically, and, although in 1974 they were on the side of the MPLA, at least in the theoretical realm, and in some respects, in practical terms as well, have with the development of the situation become disillusioned. And, without abandoning the country or adopting a radical attitude, they have continued their lives and are today well-placed professionally, but they are certainly wary.

These are individuals whose reasoning has always favored the lesser evil, and within this framework, have never hesitated to use their resources to provide minimal support to the government.

These groups too will have something to say, because the maintenance of a whole list of services and institutions can be credited to them, at least in part. These are people who also had their problems in the era of the revolutionary outpourings and—a factor with even greater weight—they are of Portuguese ancestry, the "doubles," as they are sometimes called. These people will certainly not be inclined to cease to speak out actively, if they are given an opportunity to do so.

At a time when Africa has to prove to the world that maturity is not just for others, and when the continent must cease to be subject to comparisons, like that Agostinho Neto made, with an inert body on which every vulture will nibble at some part, we believe that the war in Angola will not survive 1990.

On the other hand, it would be well to remember that once the problem of the war is resolved, the people of this nation will with relative ease be able to achieve a standard of living somewhat higher than those in the other African countries. And it would not be difficult to repeat the Ivory Coast miracle which is in the throes of

its final sighs, without the errors seen elsewhere, such as those Mobutu's Zaire has committed and is continuing to commit.

Rich as it is, or to speak the truth, with its merely potential wealth, but with the capacity to recover the place it occupied in 1973 very quickly, we believe that Angola will have to be taken into account as this decade progresses.

All that is needed to ensure this is consistency on all levels with the deepest desires of this people, who are tired of war but are proud of their homeland, and who shiver and smile beautifully when they hear talk of permanent, dignified peace which will allow the exercise of their sovereignty.

#### \* New Political Groupings Said Emerging

34190106A Paris LA LETTRE DU CONTINENT  
in French 22 Feb 90 pp 7-8

[Excerpts] Even though certain American leaders and Angolan Protestant clergymen favor the timely creation of a "sole super-party," through the merger of the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] ruling party and the rebel UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola], the past several weeks have seen the creation of several new political structures.

On 25 January the Angolan Civic Association (ACA) emerged from obscurity. Formed by Joaquim Pinto de Andrade (one of the founders of the MPLA) and by former militants of the "Amilcar Cabral Committees," ACA defines itself as a nongovernmental organization (NGO) "open to all currents and sectors of international opinion" and committed to defending the civic rights of its citizens. On the other hand, three former leaders (Gentil Viana, Adolfo Maria and, Marion Pinto de Andrade) of the "Active Revolt" faction of the MPLA, who had challenged the leadership of Agostinho Neto during the 1970's, have formed the "Group for the Consideration of Peace in Angola." They sent a message to President Jose Eduardo dos Santos in December 1989 by way of the Cape Verdean president, Aristides Pereira (Mario de Andrade has been carrying a Cape Verdean passport for years). The same message was sent to Jonas Savimbi during his visit to Lisbon at the end of January.

A rightwing group, Franco de Sousa's UNANGOLA [Union of Angolans Abroad], also seeks to participate in the dialogue. But it is on 24 February that negotiations should materialize with the arrival in Luanda of the oldest nonarmed opposition group, the "Independent Democrats" recently transformed into the Angolan Democratic Unity Movement for Reconstruction (MUDAR: 'change' in Portuguese). Their leader, Manuel dos Santos Lima—a well-known writer, who belongs to the same ethnic group as Jonas Savimbi and former founder of the MPLA—will be received by several government leaders and by the president himself a few days after the arrival of his colleagues: Fausto da Luz (associate professor at Rennes University in France) and Jose

Goncalves. These first two emissaries will give a 90-line message to the Chief of State. [passage omitted]

[L.C. comment] These visits will reinforce the position within the MPLA Central Committee, of those most favorable to the democratization of the regime, in particular Mendes de Carvalho (former leader of "Catete," a non-Marxist nationalist group) and Lopo de Nascimento. On the other hand, the death in prison a few days ago of Marcolino Faustino, former UNITA commander, will not facilitate the holding of a dialogue. Although returning to the Luanda regime, he was arrested at the beginning of last year for having "intelligence" contacts with his former organization.

**\* High Cost of Continuing War in Mavinga Noted**  
90EF0303A Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICIAS  
in Portuguese 2 Mar 90 p 1

[Article by Antunes Ferreira; first paragraph is DIARIO DE NOTICIAS introduction]

[Text] Luanda and Jamba are involved in a war of communiques alongside the immense tragedy represented by the fight for possession of Mavinga. There are consecutive and alternating "conquests" of the martyred settlement, there are bombardments, and there are "geographical errors." If it were not tragic, one might consider it ironic. But in the case under discussion, it would be macabre irony—the terrible casualties are there to prove it.

The Angolan case is one of those that need no special reason to be front-page news in the media. It can be said without fear of contradiction that in one way or another, that statement is unfortunately true and valid. One wishes that the opposite were true, but recent developments are proving that the complexity of the subject is comparable only to the violence being shown in the field by the parties concerned.

Operation "Final Attack," which was initiated by FAPLA [People's Forces for the Liberation of Angola] on a scale very seldom seen in conflicts of this kind, was apparently aimed at destroying the negotiating strength of UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] even though the cost would be extremely high. The casualties to date on both sides have been excessive, and the equipment used—much of it now destroyed—is sophisticated and correspondingly expensive.

The fact is, however, that whether that was its purpose or not, "Final Attack" has had very grievous consequences. Savimbi, apparently in hot water, ordered his faithful followers to expand their operations to cover the entire Angolan territory, although he accompanied that decision with a warning concerning the resulting danger of following the example of RENAMO [Mozambique National Resistance]. The immediate result was that the Angolan capital found itself without electricity or water due to sabotage by the rebels.

Violence attracts violence—as is well known. With the stroke of a pen, what could have been regarded as a strategic move aimed at influencing the negotiations turned into a nightmare of shrapnel, napalm, and mud—the latter being a new component added by the rainy season. The whole world was appalled at the worsening situation. Its deterioration could affect not only Angola but also the bordering countries and particularly those to the south: Namibia and South Africa.

A glaring example of this was the stand taken by the European Community, which early in the week published a communique in which it confessed its concern "over the recent escalation of fighting in Angola." And the EC emphasized that they were also concerned "by the threat which the conflict represents from the standpoint of the prospects for a lasting agreement in Angola as well as the stability of Namibia and all the rest of the territory." The communique ended with a call for a cease-fire and a stable political agreement.

Jonas Savimbi, who from all indications is at the scene of the fighting, stepped up his parallel activity aimed at influencing all those in a position, through diplomatic channels, to reduce the intensity of the fighting. There were letters to Portugal's rulers, there were statements accepting conditions that had previously been unacceptable—a single Armed Forces organization being one example—and there were appeals to the international community.

For its part, Luanda was not inactive either. Besides the proclaimed division between hard-liners and moderates—labels which, like all labels, are always faulty because they describe everything in absolute terms—President Jose Eduardo dos Santos announced measures aimed at making his regime more flexible. He even said that elections would be allowed—although in a special context and along lines that were also singular. This by Eduardo dos Santos, of whom it is said that while not a hard-liner, he also cannot be considered a (genuine) moderate.

For its part, the government also started off on a different path. The president of the republic's announced visit to Washington, now postponed indefinitely, may have strengthened the White House's acceptance of the image of a political opening-up which strategists of the MPLA-PT [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party] in Futundo de Belas have been trying to put across. But man proposes, and God disposes—or the devil, or the fates, or whatever.

In the U.S. capital at the end of last week, Minister of Justice Franca Van Dunem reported on the way the situation was developing to the assistant secretary of state for African affairs, Herman Cohen. He also met with Jesse Jackson, who had just returned from South Africa, where he had been in contact with officials and members of the ANC [African National Congress] and, obviously, Nelson Mandela. According to ANGOP



[ANGOLAN PRESS AGENCY]. Jackson once again affirmed "his support for the struggle by the Angolan people for their dignity."

As a result of all that, it might be believed that Luanda was also finally thinking that a military solution was not the best answer to a conflict of such dimensions and with such major consequences. It is believed, and this reporter also believes, that that is probably precisely the case and that interpretations in the capital, although obviously not following the same code book as that used in Jamba, are not very different from those prevailing in the rebel movement.

But it was necessary to prove to UNITA's people that the impunity they claimed for themselves in the Land of the Elephants was not all that certain after all. And that the intention to carry the war throughout Angolan territory was subject to retaliation. Just as prevaricators are punished, so the government felt that it should give these delinquents a significantly understandable warning. That explains the raid by the two fighter-bombers, its purpose being to show that the "sanctuary" was more vulnerable than Savimbi's men said it was.

Once again, that operation rekindled the parallel war of communiques. One wishes that it were only a matter of communiques, but unfortunately that is not the case. It must be remembered, however, that in just the past few weeks, according to those same communiques from Luanda and Jamba, Mavinga—that martyred land where the only things still standing are a few of the orange trees that lined the main street in the days of Portuguese rule—has been conquered and reconquered a few dozen times, on paper.

In all of this there is an anecdotal side which is not surfacing, only because the topic is too tragic: because blood is drenching Angola's fertile land every day—land that certainly needed another kind of fertilizer and dressing. In other words, the terrible reality is incompatible with irony, no matter how much one wants to see the latter as an escape valve.

The UNITA mission in Lisbon immediately hastened to announce that the area bombed had been Mavinga, not Jamba. It attributed Luanda's statements to a "geographical error." Be that as it may, the message had been delivered, and its various recipients could interpret it any way they chose.

At the moment, it may be too early to seek the equation to the events in question. What we need concerning those events is information and commentary, not their history, which cannot be unraveled at this point. But even some of the information and data needed for figuring out what is happening are lacking. The bodies of those killed in the battle for Mavinga are still too warm for anyone, especially on the outside, to say how the operations should have been carried out, how the tanks

should have maneuvered, and how the planes and helicopters should have attacked. In matters of this kind, it must be said that real conclusions can be drawn only when one has the real facts.

For that very reason, what we are presenting here is the possible equation, based on documents from various sources, so that an attempt can be made to tackle the issue more completely. The witness presented here consists of a collection of data which may themselves serve as a basis for analysis. As is obvious, we are not going to drop the subject. Our hope is that the next time, we will be talking more about peace and less about war.

#### \* Portuguese Workers Allegedly Killed by UNITA

90EF0303B Lisbon EXPRESSO in Portuguese  
3 Mar 90 p 16

[Text] A group of Portuguese citizens living in Ange'a has written to Mario Soares to draw his attention to the fact that three Portuguese workers have been killed in the Lucapa region of Lunda Norte Province since 28 January.

The approximately 200 signers of the letter, copies of which were sent to Cavaco Silva and the speaker of the Assembly of the Republic, Vitor Crespo, accuse the Portuguese Embassy in Luanda of completely ignoring the insecurity being felt by Portuguese in that area following the killing of three cooperants in the brief period of two weeks.

When contacted by EXPRESSO, Lencastre da Veiga, the Portuguese ambassador to Angola, said that "there is great nervousness within the Portuguese community in that region." The Portuguese representative added that on several occasions, he had asked Angolan authorities to provide more protection for those workers (most of whom work for Endiama [expansion unknown], formerly known as Diamang [Angola Diamond Company]) and that last week he had received authorization from the Government of the RPA [People's Republic of Angola] for the Portuguese consul general, Antonio Franco, to visit the area and talk to the community.

Lencastre da Veiga added: "I think everything is calmer now, but it needs to be understood that those workers accepted an employment contract in a country experiencing problems with war and in a region where those problems are intensifying."

Two of the cooperants in the Lucapa region were killed on 28 January when a rocket hit the jeep in which they were riding. The other cooperant, who was in charge of a diamond mine, was hit by a bullet in the heart and died instantly. Luanda authorities blame both attacks on UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola].

## Madagascar

### \* New Front Said To Offer Hopes for Democracy

90EF0322B Antananarivo MIDI MADAGASIKARA  
in French 2 Mar p 1

[Text] Political staff meetings were called, proposals were drawn, meetings followed meetings. On the whole, it is the entire political macrocosm that is watching and waiting for the texts on the free creation of parties.

Beyond the impatience shown by some people, there is hope that Malagasy political life will soon know another climate, as a result of the democratization of the political participation process, which we are currently witnessing.

If we assume that several new parties will enter the political scene following the publication of the texts, the Front—which, moreover, we tend to call the Front of Socialist Tendencies Supporters rather than the Front for the Defense of the Revolution, even though it is the latter—will no longer have monopoly over the political debate. The other parties will also be able to express their views and to participate freely in the elections.

To these first two qualities associated with the introduction to multiple parties must be added still a third, namely, the great opportunity offered to citizens in their political choices and preferences. Consequently, there will be a new political climate that, for good or bad, will merely be the expression of democracy.

### \* First Economic Agreement Signed With Singapore

90EF0322A Antananarivo MIDI MADAGASIKARA  
in French 2 Mar 90 p 4

[Text] The least that can be said about the initial relations between Madagascar and Singapore is that they have an auspicious beginning. An economic agreement was signed in Singapore just a few days after diplomatic relations were established on 31 January last.

One of minister Jean Bemananjara's accomplishments while on a mission to that country was to sign a financial agreement pertaining to the purchase of boats for the SMTM [Malagasy Ocean Transport Company]. Jean Bemananjara signed this agreement as president of the SMTM board of directors, but it remains that this important first [step] opens great prospects for cooperation between this dragon of the southeast and the Big Isle, which could very well become (why not?) the Dragon of the Indian Ocean. According to the communique of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs released yesterday on the occasion of Bemananjara's return to the country, "several negotiations, relating to sea and air transportation and to the infrastructure sector, were begun under the authority of Minister of Transportation, Meteorology and Tourism Lucien Zasy."

Although turning toward southeast Asia, Madagascar is not, for all of that, losing sight of the Indian Ocean.

Besides, our minister of foreign affairs' journey began in Reunion where "possible developments of bilateral cooperation, especially on a cultural level," were discussed with Constantin, the prefect of Reunion. Among other things, Bemananjara conveyed to the prefect of Reunion the Malagasy Government's official invitation to visit Madagascar.

After Reunion, the minister of foreign affairs spent the day (last 7 February) in Mauritius. Among other things, he discussed with the Mauritian vice prime minister "bilateral cooperation and the need to strengthen the COI [Indian Ocean Commission] with the possibility of employment by a country of the commission's budget, in agreement with member countries," as well as the participation of Madagascar as an observer to the Preferential Trade Area (PTA).

From the Indian Ocean via Singapore, Bemananjara then went to Cairo for the 53rd ordinary session of the OAU [Organization of African Unity] Coordination Committee for the Liberalization of Africa (Madagascar being present as an observer) and the 51st ordinary session of the OAU Council of Ministers; as an aside to the latter, meetings were held with the OAU secretary general and the ministers of foreign affairs of Mozambique and Algeria.

In short, a month of travel in which political reality did not, far from it, relegate realism, if not economic necessity, to the background [illegible word] economic.

## Mauritius

### \* Jugnauth Cooperates With FBI in Soobiah Case

90AF0012A Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French  
13 Mar 90 pp 1, 4

[Article by Harish Chundunsing: "FBI Asks for Mauritian-U.S. Rogatory Commission Over Nigel Soobiah Affair"]

[Text] The American FBI [Federal Bureau of Investigation] has asked for an international rogatory commission to be convened on Mauritius in the case of Nigel Soobiah, 41, who was arrested on 30 November 1988 in Buffalo for drug trafficking. Soobiah, the son of the former Mauritian high commissioner in London, is also suspected of having ties to the "Gambino" family, which controls a Mafia gang in the United States.

According to our sources, the FBI request was transmitted to the authorities through the American Embassy in Mauritius. With a rogatory commission, American investigators could verify details about certain individuals in Mauritius, the way the Reunionese police did when a rogatory commission was held in 1986, at the request of Reunionese authorities, by Judge Bernard Sik Yuen, who served as master and registrar. That commission was held after Siddick Omar Said (alias "La Tete") and Jean Rodolphe (alias "Zen Zen") were arrested on Saint-Denis for drug trafficking.

The American request reopens what was known at the time as the "Soobiah affair." When Nigel was arrested, his father, Mr. Soo Soobiah, was the Mauritian high commissioner in London. After his son's arrest, public outcry forced him to resign his position, although he held on to his diplomatic passport and remained for some time at Elvaston Place, the official residence, before moving out.

Sleuths at Scotland Yard, tipped off to the father-son connection by their FBI colleagues, kept the two Soobiahs under close surveillance. In February 1989, two days after vacating the high commission premises, Mr. and Mrs. Soobiah were arrested at Camberley in Surrey on a charge of laundering narcodollars. They were subsequently released, pending trial in Southwark Crown Court, after posting a cash bail of 5 million rupees.

It must be noted that the case assembled by British investigators relies heavily on documents and sworn statements to be provided by their FBI colleagues. But American judicial procedures are such that no document figuring in the Nigel Soobiah case can be transferred elsewhere until his case is disposed of. This fact is largely responsible for the delay in the Soobiah couple's trial.

We were unable to get any reaction this morning from those directly concerned with the FBI request, as they were preoccupied with the departure of Mr. Didier Ratsiraka, the president of Madagascar.

#### PM's Office: 'No Problem'

A spokesman for the American Embassy in Mauritius refused today to make any comment on the affair. "There's no comment from us on that regard," we were told.

Sources in the prime minister's office referred us to remarks Sir Anerood Jugnauth had already made in answer to a question in parliament; Jugnauth had said the Mauritian Government would respond favorably to any request by the FBI for investigative assistance on Mauritius.

#### \* PM Advocates Increased Surveillance of EEZ

90EF0313A Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French  
3 Mar 90 p 1

[Article by Harish Chundunsing: "Economic Zone Surveillance To Be Increased With Installation of Radars, More Patrol Boats"]

[Text] The government is seriously considering the installation of three extended-radius surveillance radar units to stop foreign trawlers from pillaging our fishing banks. Sir Anerood Jugnauth, the prime minister, announced the news two days ago at Vacoas.

Jugnauth said the radars will facilitate the work of the Coast Guard Unit by averting unnecessary naval and air sorties.

Surveillance of our Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ), which extends over a radius of 200 nautical miles, has become one of the government's leading concerns, especially in the wake of scandals in which at least two ships that had been fishing in Mauritian waters sold their catch in Reunion. Moreover, the captain of one of the ships, the "Yin Chuen 1," is currently being prosecuted on a charge of illegal fishing in Mauritius's EEZ. The police investigation of the case is being handled by Superintendent Marcel Joson of CID [Criminal Investigations Division] headquarters.

Also, the fleet of coast guard patrol boats will be augmented considerably this year. Chief Inspector Seeburrun is in India at this very moment to make an on-site inspection of the three patrol boats to be added to the fleet.

The Soviet Government recently donated two patrol boats to the coast guard, whose new reconnaissance aircraft will be arriving from Bangalore toward the end of the month.

#### \* Harish Boodhoo Decries 'Caste War'

90EF0299A Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French  
16 Feb 90 p 4

[Article by Harish Chundunsing: "Harish Boodhoo Disturbed by 'Caste War'"]

[Text] At a press conference yesterday Mr. Harish Boodhoo, leader of the PSM [Mauritian Socialist Party], called on Prime Minister Anerood Jugnauth to put an end to the "caste war" that has been going on for some time now between two factions in the Hindu community. Other important topics discussed at the press conference were the disorders at a PSM rally and the party's new campaign to get the government to reconsider its decision to ban the importation of used spare parts.

According to Boodhoo, the recent incident that marred the statuette dedication ceremony at Epinau shows the extent to which, until quite recently, the two groups were engaged in a treacherous covert war. The PSM leader attributed tensions between the castes to various political appointments, recruitment by the PSC [Police Service Commission] and incidents of victimization. He said the MSM [Mauritian Socialist Movement] and the PT [Labor Party] are hoping to profit from the situation by winning one of the castes over to their side.

Turning to the disruptive tactics of thugs at PSM rallies, Mr. Boodhoo said he did not have "any confidence in the police commissioner." He said he has already warned Mr. Kowlessur he intends to make provisions for his own protection should the police fail to do their job. "When disorders are expected, I will ask the police three times for help. If they refuse to do their job, I will provide my own security, with the help of the crowd," he said.



Commenting on Sir Anerood Jugnauth's claim that his life was threatened by a "bandit," Mr. Boodhoo demanded to know what prevents the prime minister from having him arrested. He said the truth is that Jugnauth is afraid the arrest of the "bandit" would offend a Labor Party "senior minister" and Mr. Vishnu Lutchmeenaraidoo, his finance minister.

The PSM leader announced he would hold a rally today at Roches-Brunes and another tomorrow at Triolet.

At Roches-Brunes the PSM will launch its campaign against the ban on the importation of used spare parts, and at Triolet Mr. Boodhoo will renew his demand for creation of a commission of inquiry to look into the activities of Dr. Dinesh Ramjuttun.

**\* Multiracial Coexistence Seen as Model for RSA**

90AF0112B Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French  
13 Mar 90 p 12

[Article by Raj Gowrea: "Ratsiraka Says Indian Ocean 'Not for Foreigners and Colonialists'"]

[Text] Mauritius has been cited as a model of unity in diversity that could serve as an example to the whole world, and to [Republic of] South Africa [RSA] in particular, [Malagasy] President Didier Ratsiraka told a large crowd at Rose-Hill stadium yesterday afternoon. "I hope that your success in maintaining unity in diversity can serve as an example to the world, and to South Africa, which has the same ethnic components as your own country," said the Malagasy president. Also, Mr. Ratsiraka said a few words in Creole to remind the audience that the Indian Ocean "is not for foreigners and colonialists."

The Malagasy leader praised the exemplary harmony prevailing among the various ethnic groups in Mauritius, a harmony that marks it as a nation that has forged a spirit of unity out of its diverse components. He said South Africa, another ethnically heterogeneous nation, would benefit enormously by following the Mauritian example of multiracial coexistence and maintaining "unity in diversity."

The Malagasy president said it is important for the countries bordering on the Indian Ocean to preserve their independence and freedom. This will enable them to maintain a united position and to show the world that the Indian Ocean "belongs to us, not to foreigners and colonialists," because the geopolitical interests affected in the Indian Ocean are those of the countries bordering on it, including India, which the president described as a "great fraternal continent."

Earlier, Mr. Ratsiraka expressed his joy and satisfaction at being in Mauritius. To the crowd assembled on the lawn he said a few words in Creole—"words everyone here can understand"—to emphasize the close similarity between the Mauritian and Malagasy peoples. He said he

had wanted to visit Mauritius for a long time to consolidate the mutually beneficial cooperation that is beginning to bear fruit.

**\* New Name for SSU Comes With Modernization**

90EF0311A Port Louis THE SUN in French  
14 Feb 90 p 8

[Article by Vinesen Abel: "The 'CTRF' Replaces the 'SSU'"; first paragraph is editor's lead; italicized passages in English]

[Text] The "*Special Supporting Unit*" (SSU) will change its name and be known as the "*Central Tactical Response Formation*" (CTRF).

The SSU, headed by assistant police commissioner Harold Munso, will soon change its name to become the *Central Tactical Response Formation* (CTRF).

The *Police Riot Unit* (PRU), you will remember, was replaced by the SSU.

The name CTRF has already been inscribed on the wall of the unit's headquarters in the central barracks.

According to information gleaned by THE SUN, new tactiquesa (tactics) will definitely be used by this police unit. Once the name CTRF is official, it will be painted on all vehicles of the new unit.

Unit police officers will be trained, at the instigation of APC [expansion unknown] Munso, using new methods associated with modernization.

**\* TTM Leader To Resign; Protests Against PM**

90EF0311C Port Louis L'EXPRESS in French  
2 Mar 90 p 1

[Text] The TTM (Tamil Telegu Marathi Movement) leader, Mr. Raj Virahsawmy, will use the political platform of the PMSD (Mauritian Social Democratic Party) on 3 March and will soon join a political party.

During his press conference yesterday on Thursday, the Quatre-Bornes deputy emphasized that standing up to speak at the PMSD meeting is tantamount to protesting against the prime minister.

"I am protesting against a prime minister who is against the minorities of this country," he said.

Mr. Virahsawmy intends to relinquish his place as leader of the TTM to a nonpolitician. He refuses for now to disclose the political party he intends to join.

For Mr. Virahsawmy, the issue now is one of politically defending oppressed minorities within a national organization.

**\* First Foreign Workers Expected From India**

90EF0307B Port Louis LE NOUVEAU MILITANT  
in French 25 Feb 90 p 2

[Article: "Twenty-Five Indian Workers Coming to Balacava Beach Resort"]

[Text] Balacava Beach Resort may be the first Mauritian enterprise to import foreign manpower. A contingent of 25 Indian workers is expected to arrive soon to help with the construction of a five-star hotel, the Hyatt Regency Mauritius at Balacava.

Questioned by LE NOUVEAU MILITANT, the company's public relations director said all the arrangements have been made for arrival of the workers. "These are skilled workers, including carpenters, masons, and plumbers," she said. The Indian workers were recruited by Asha, the Indian consulting firm.

According to our sources, the arrival of the workers was delayed somewhat because Indian authorities wanted guarantees as to the authenticity of all the contracts. The Indian authorities are known to have become very strict about the export of Indian manpower, especially to Mauritius, since the Laxmanbhai incident.

The public relations officer of Balacava Beach Resort, Limited told us that great care has been taken in selecting lodgings for the workers, and their wages will conform to existing law. "We have met all the conditions imposed by the local authorities for the importation of foreign manpower," she said. The foreign workers will stay in bungalows not far from the work site.

The Mauritian company started building the five-star hotel last June. "Work will be completed toward the end of the year," said the public relations officer, who also noted that the workers will receive their pay once their contract is terminated. "We cannot afford the luxury of hiring them for a long period of time because they cost us a great deal," she said.

It will be recalled that Mauritian trade unions are unanimously opposed to the importation of foreign manpower. They are demanding more detailed studies of the question before a decision is made on the subject. Last Thursday, at a press conference given by the National Trade Union Council, Mr. Bidianand Jhurry reiterated his demand for a study of each sector. "We want the trade unions to be consulted in the investigation," Mr. Jhurry said.

**\* Foreigner for New Director of Shipping Post**

90EF0316B Port Louis L'EXPRESS in French  
21 Jan 90 p 7

[Text] The Commonwealth Fund for Technical Cooperation (CFTC) has agreed to finance in part the new post of "Director of Shipping" in the Ministry of Trade and Navigation.

Initially, this post will go to a foreigner who is an expert in ship registration on a commercial and professional basis.

The CFTC is planning to submit a list of five to seven international experts to the government between now and the end of February, and it will be up to the government to select the person.

From the standpoint of the government, the assistance of a foreign expert is considered to be of great importance for the implementation of new Mauritian legislation on the merchant marine.

Although nothing is final as yet, it is highly possible that the foreign expert will be replaced by a Mauritian in one or two years. One of the names most often cited is that of the current port master, Captain Jean Toi, who may serve as the assistant to the Director of Shipping in the meantime.

**\* STC Negotiates Purchase of Rice, Fruit**

90EF0316C Port Louis THE SUN in French  
14 Feb 90 p 1

[Text] The mission to Pakistan, Burma, and China, which was headed by Minister Dwarkanath Gungah and composed of Mr. Ghoorah and Mr. Ramphul from the State Trading Corporation (STC), proved to be fruitful in more than one way.

The delegation managed to negotiate the purchase of 76,000 tons of ration rice; including 48,000 tons from China, 10,000 tons from Burma, and 18,000 tons from Pakistan, at an average price of \$219 a ton, as compared to \$243 last year.

Moreover, Mauritius negotiated the purchase of 6,000 tons of basmati rice (export quality) from Pakistan, which the STC will put on the market in May at a price lower than the current price, the minister indicated. He did not, however, want to reveal the price at which it will be sold. The minister explained that importers have been allowed enough time to sell the basmati rice they have in stock now before the first shipment arrives in May.

The delegation was also able to negotiate the purchase of 2,500 tons of fragrant rice from Thailand, a luxury rice that is also highly prized in Mauritius. In this case, the purchase was negotiated with suppliers from the private sector in Thailand, who were offering this rice at \$340 a ton, as compared to the \$440 offered by that country's government. In all the other cases, the negotiations took place between governments.

The minister also announced that they would be importing shortly various fruits (grapes and apples) from India and oranges from Pakistan. The new 4,500-ton ship that will be replacing the "MV Mauritius" will ply the route between Mauritius and the mainland.

The delegation also discussed the possibility of importing iron for the construction industry from the

Tata Group in India and from the China Import and Export Company. The STC is planning on opening up new markets in this area to protect Mauritian consumers. It is also planning to import timber and has begun talks to this effect with the Burmese Timber Association.

**\* SOVMAV, 1st Joint Venture With USSR**

90EF0316A Port Louis L'EXPRESS in French  
10 Feb 90 p 5

[Text] Soviet and Mauritian businessmen have joined together to create the SOVMAV company, which will manufacture textile articles, clothing, toys, and food stuffs in Moscow.

Although no date has been set, there is a strong possibility that this joint venture will be in operation in four or five months.

SOVMAV will provide employment to 500 persons, about 20 of them Mauritians. The agreement between the Soviet and Mauritian partners was signed in October of last year. The company was incorporated in Moscow two weeks ago on 25 January. The board of directors will meet in the Soviet capital at the end of this month to put the finishing touches on SOVMAV's operating plan.

Anand Jugroo, one of the directors, told L'EXPRESS that the company also intends to produce X-ray machines and to get involved in the seafood processing industry.

He added that the establishment of SOVMAV comes as part of the wave of changes in the USSR at various political, economic, and commercial levels. Mikhail Gorbachev's government is offering incentives to investors to promote the development of the Soviet economy. The USSR is an immense market, and we have everything to gain by trying to penetrate this market. SOVMAV is also planning to buy tea, jeans, and Mauritian textiles, Mr. Jugroo said.

SOVMAV should help inaugurate a new era of bilateral cooperation between the USSR and Mauritius, in the commercial, industrial, and economic spheres. At the same time, it provides an opportunity for Mauritius to export its technology and know-how in the textile sector. SOVMAV is not only the first joint venture between the USSR and Mauritius, but also the first project between the USSR and a country southwest of the Indian Ocean in which risks are shared, Mr. Jugroo pointed out.

SOVMAV's activities will include the promotion of tourism between Mauritius and the USSR, and the development of cultural cooperation and consultancy services.

**\* 'Deal' To Take Over Habib A.G. Zurich Sealed**

90EF0321A Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French  
9 Mar 90 p 1

[Article by Leon Baya: "Takeover of Habib A.G. Zurich: A 40-Million Rupee Deal"; first paragraph is editor's lead, italicized passages in English]

[Text] The South East Asian Bank's [SEAB] takeover of Habib A.G. Zurich Bank's operations is a deal worth approximately 40 million rupees, according to well-informed sources.

According to these same sources, the "takeover" will be sealed this afternoon when documents relative to it are signed, after both parties receive the blessing of the Bank of Mauritius. The "deal" involves not only the transfer of capital and reserves, but also the "goodwill" of Habib A.G. Zurich Bank. Its deposits are said to total just over 60 million rupees.

As we reported yesterday, the Habib A.G. Zurich Bank will lose its place in the Mauritian banking world tomorrow following the Central Bank's decision to uphold its mid-December order to revoke Habib A.G. Zurich's operating permit on 10 March. Following procedures spelled out in the "Banking Act", Habib Bank wrote the prime minister that it would appeal the Central Bank's decision, but later flipfopped, because negotiations with certain banks to take over its operations had begun.

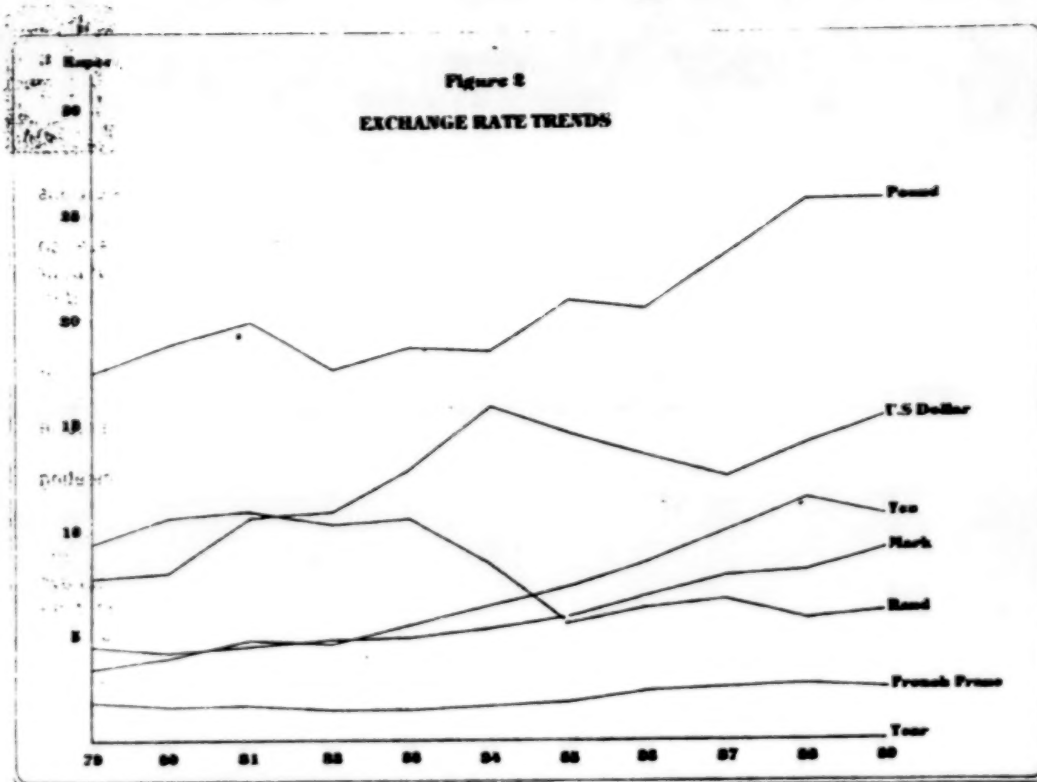
Negotiations between the South East Asian Bank and the Habib A.G. Zurich Bank were held in Kuala Lumpur where the parent company, *Bank Bumiputra Malaysia Berhad*, is based. However, the president of SEAB, Mr. Tan Sir Basir Bin Ismail, was in constant touch with the general manager of the Mauritian subsidiary, Mr. Bakar Sulaiman.

Questioned this morning on the outcome of negotiations between the two commercial banks, the governor of the Bank of Mauritius, Mr. Indur Ramphul, said he was satisfied with the financial aspect of the agreement. "As we said at the start, the Central Bank was primarily concerned with seeing to it that the interests of savers were protected. It was our main preoccupation and I am satisfied that everything was handled properly. I am also glad to see that the interests of employees were safeguarded," said Mr. Ramphul.

The SEAB began operating 5 July 1989, while the Habib A.G. Zurich Bank set up shop in Mauritius in 1978.

Moreover, it is hinted that *S.B. International*, a joint venture between the *State Commercial Bank* and the *State Bank of India*, will have capital of 150 million rupees for *offshore banking*. The director, Mr. Madhukar, is in the process of structuring his OBU (offshore banking unit).





In addition, it is hinted that the *Mauritius Commercial Bank* [MCB] is preparing its "Offshore" dossier. The MCB will be a "joint venture" with Credit Lyonnais and Reunion Bank.

#### \* Value of Currency Relative to Trade Discussed

90EF0313C Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French  
8 Mar 90 p 5

[Article: "The Depreciating Rupee"]

[Text] Between 1982 and 1989 the Mauritian rupee declined in relation to the major international currencies. It declined by nearly 125 percent against the yen.

To be precise, the annual report of the Mauritius Employers Federation [MEF] shows the rupee depreciated 124.7 percent vis-a-vis the Japanese currency, with the exchange rate rising from 4.74 to 10.65 rupees. According to the MEF, the rupee declined 91.6 percent (from 4.64 to 8.89 rupees) against the Deutsche mark, while the French franc rose by 57.9 percent (from 1.64 to 2.59 rupees), the U.S. dollar by 38.9 percent (from 10.97 up to 15.24 rupees), and the pound sterling by 38.6 percent (from 17.71 to 24.54).

In 1989, the rupee declined significantly vis-a-vis the French franc (13.6 percent), the Deutsche mark (13.5 percent), and the U.S. dollar (9.6 percent). However, the rupee went up slightly against the yen (4.4 percent) and the pound sterling (2 percent). In relation to the rand, the

rupee increased by 41.7 percent between 1982 and 1989, but declined by 2.4 percent in 1989.

"It is important to add that the bulk of our trade is denominated in the listed currencies. For this reason, the depreciation has an impact on import prices of various commodities. This is one of the elements that has propelled the inflationary spiral in the country," the MEF said.

#### \* Future Economic Growth Viewed as Dismal

34000537B Port Louis 5-PLUS in English  
9-15 Mar 90 pp 7-8

[Article by Azad Jeetun]

[Text] The Prime Minister has lately tried to exhort the trade unions to be reasonable in their demand for wage compensation and has also brandished the spectre of a new economic boom in 1991, if the present economic policies are maintained. Sir Anerood Jugnauth has said much more than he knows or probably knows much more than he said. We may not agree with his statement but at least one basic fact underlying it is indisputable—that we are no longer in a boom. It has come to an end sooner than we expected.

The question which we are bound to ask is whether the driving forces that will usher in a new boom is present today or not. We have studied the behavior of a few key economic indicators but they do not support the case for

a boom next year. For example, we do not see a big increase in investment that will propel the economy to a higher growth course; in 1989, our growth was in the vicinity of 4 percent, thanks to the contribution of the Export Processing Zone [EPZ]. But then, even the EPZ shows signs of stabilization. The survey in ECO also reflected a rather pessimistic outlook for the forthcoming three years.

Conditions are no longer conducive to a resurgence of activities in the EPZ on the scale we were used to between 1985-89. Employment is stagnant, and output growth is decelerating. Of course, a sector cannot always grow exponentially. A new dynamism can be imparted to the EPZ with the setting up of new industries. But the attraction of new industries is not in the offing. It took 15 years for us to reach maturity in the textile sector and to mark our presence in world markets. The import penetration cannot be telescoped into two years even if we are able to attract an industry now.

We do not find any of the identified sectors, printing, jewellery or leather, picking up the challenge and emerging as a source of boom conditions. The world environment is more competitive today than, say, 10 years back. Even if we make some headway in this direction, a couple of years is grossly inadequate to reach cruising speed.

What is also striking is that the typical and topical statement of Sir Anerood is not couched in ambiguous terms. It is possible that the Prime Minister has some interesting projects with low gestation periods in the pipeline. We have no reasons to doubt his words; there is also no doubt that he knows more than we know with privileged information to which we have no access. But it is unlikely that a new industry will emerge all of a sudden; business is not magic.

If we rule out the EPZ as the generator of a boom, we have to search elsewhere—the agricultural sector. This is not strange, since our first boom of the seventies sprang with the sugar sector. Judging from the congenial climate prevailing in recent months the Prime Minister is probably banking on a good sugar harvest already estimated at about 680,000 tons which implies an increase of over 110,000 tons over the preceding year. This will bring in additional foreign exchange earnings of almost Rs1 billion. It will have a favorable impact on the yawning balance of trade deficit. It will provide the sugar sector with the means to show once again its innovating spirit but that will be in the medium term and has less importance before the next election. The PM's statement is, willy nilly, an admission that the sugar industry has still a crucial role to play in the economy, a role that will not diminish in intensity or importance during this decade. Nevertheless, the unpredictable weather cannot be projected at this stage. Fortunately, we have just escaped from the grips of 'Edisaona'. So long as cyclones miss their target, there is ground for optimism. It helps us in our search for a boom but still it seems that we are

counting our chicken before they are hatched. The seventies had their sugar boom; the eighties, their EPZ boom and the nineties has the legitimate right to claim its own by precipitating one!

#### \* Mechanization of Tea Industry Introduced

90EF0311B Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French  
16 Feb 90 p 6

[Article by Dharmanand Dhoocharika: "The Tea Industry Will Undergo Significant Changes" Says Madun Dulloo"; first paragraph is editor's lead; italicized passages in English]

[Text] "He expects improved prices on the world market."

The tea industry's situation compared to that of 1988 is improving said the minister of agriculture, fishing and natural resources, Madun Dulloo, in Dubreuil Wednesday during an official ceremony inaugurating the mechanization of tea picking. The tea industry, the minister said, will undergo significant changes with the introduction of mechanization. Increased production of the best quality of tea and improved prices on the world market are expected. According to forecasts of the minister of agriculture, Madun Dulloo, the tea industry can only become viable if the sector is totally reorganized and small planters are mobilized.

A committee made up of several high-ranking officials of the "Tea Board" and of technicians from the Ministry of Agriculture was set up to examine all the tea industry's problems.

Three Indian experts on a mission to Mauritius have already submitted a report to the government on the status of the tea industry in Mauritius. At this very-moment the Ministry of Agriculture is examining the Indian consultants' recommendations in order to find solutions appropriate to this particular sector.

Speaking Wednesday to small planters from Dubreuil, Minister Dulloo announced that a consensus had already been reached among all parties concerned—notably the "Tea Board", factories and the planters' cooperative society—to make the sector viable.

The agriculture minister called on small planters to form cooperatives for optimal use of "Tea-Plucking Machines." The minister said he was prepared to distribute other lands for cultivation of food crops to small planters.

"We are aware of all your problems. One of the government's objectives is to see that the quality of life of small planters improves. I will intervene personally within all these national organizations to save the tea industry. We are also studying the transportation problem faced by small planters in getting their tea leaves to factories," said Mr. Madun Dulloo.

It should be noted that a team of technicians is already working nonstop to find ways of further improving the quality of tea.

"We are prepared to grant other terms that will ease the situation of small planters in order to make the sector more productive. We are optimistic about the future of the tea industry," said Mr. Madun Dooloo.

In the opinion of the cooperatives minister, Mr Vishwanath Sajadah, introducing a mechanized system into the tea industry will help small planters solve their manpower problems. "We are making every effort to help small planters form cooperatives. We have always had a policy of dialogue," said Mr. Sajadah.

For his part, the general manager of the "Tea Board" stressed the necessity of mechanizing the tea industry. According to him, several small planters abandoned land planted with tea because of manpower shortages.

"Today, we are on the right track in introducing mechanization. We will have to conduct other studies on technical training to improve the quality of our tea. We will also have to modernize our factories," declared the manager of the "Tea Board".

#### \* Dismal Future for Tea Industry Predicted

90EF0313B Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French  
2 Mar 90 p 9

[Article by H. Mosaheb: "Finance Minister Pessimistic About Tea Industry"]

[Text] Mr. Vishnu Lutchmeenaraidoo, the minister of finance, is rather pessimistic about the future of the tea industry. In his speech before the MSM [Mauritius Socialist Movement] congress last Tuesday at Grand-Bois, the minister, in effect, urged young people of the region to steer away from the tea industry.

"The government has done everything possible in an effort to save this industry. You might say we have been giving it injections of antitoxins and vitamins, but we're not sure it's going to work... The tea industry can't compete with other sectors of the economy, which are growing very rapidly and offering better wages," said Mr. Lutchmeenaraidoo.

"Upwardly mobile young people need to start exploring other options; they should take advantage of all the technical training facilities the government provides and learn some other trade," he added.

The minister also described the deplorable conditions prevailing in the sugar industry's "camps" and permanent housing areas.

The government will continue to encourage elimination of the camps. But there are still problems with the resettlement program.

In Savannah, the minister said, an agreement was reached by which the sugar company will sell its land to

the camp occupants at a favorable price, while the government will provide drinking water and electricity and build the roads.

The Mauritius Housing Corporation is to provide loans to the laborers so they can build their new lodgings on land purchased from the sugar company. The land will be very close to the village, he said.

Mr. Lutchmeenaraidoo also announced a rehabilitation program for the permanent housing areas, which will include periodic road maintenance as well as improvements in water supply, electric service, and street lights.

#### \* New Hotel Construction Halted Until 1991

90EF0321B Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French  
10 Mar 90 p 12

[Article by Raj Gowrea: "No Building Permits for New Hotels Until 1991"; first paragraph is editor's lead]

[Text] The minister of youth, sports, and tourism, Mr. Michael Glover, has postponed until the end of 1991 any tinkering with the tourism policy. In the meantime, with the government's backing, the minister intends to retain the main orientations of the policies on tourism and on development of auxiliary sectors initiated when he took over as head of the ministry. "In no event do I want to encourage overheating of this important sector," which in practice means a freeze, until new orders are given, on grants of permits to build hotels.

The minister, who held a press conference yesterday, was categorical: The government will hold fast to its policy of slowing growth to establish a better touristic infrastructure, until personnel are trained, the highway system is revamped, and all conditions are met for a new expansion in hotels. "It has not been easy to introduce order into the situation. We want a breathing spell to give ourselves the latitude to better manage this sector in the future," stressed Mr. Glover.

The minister is firmly opposed to further expansion of the hotel stock until all implications of such an expansion, for the people, for hotel operators, and for the economy of all tourism-linked sectors, are fully controlled. Quoting figures, Minister Glover pointed out that hotel capacity is now 3,600 rooms, with no less than 2,770 rooms under construction. According to forecasts, construction of 1,200 rooms will be completed at the end of the year and the remainder in 1991. In addition to these 2,770 rooms, the minister indicated that at least 19 hotel projects are being hatched, having already received development certificates. That is why, explained Mr. Glover, it is imperative that arrangements be made to suspend some of these projects, for about 1,565 rooms already granted development certificates.

The arrival of 270,000 tourists in 1989, or an increase of 13 percent over 1988, does give reason for optimism, but vigilance is also called for. "It is out of vigilance that we



are making public our hotel capacity, its expansion, and our desire to control it in the national interest," emphasizes Minister Glover.

Mr. Glover said plans to classify hotels aim primarily to shift [rankings] toward the top-of-the-line. The ministry is now beginning the process of classifying hotels according to World Tourism Organization standards, to encourage cleanliness, quality of service: in short, the Mauritian trademark [preceding word in English]. Mr. Glover said the project would obviously be implemented according to a consensus that will be reached with the Mauritian Hotelkeeper and Restaurateur Association (AHRIM), on the basis of a report by Mr. Henri Grolleau, in charge of general tourism inspection. "This official classification will have an obvious commercial benefit. It refers to great international standards that can serve as a guide to small and medium-sized hotels. This classification will work in favor of better service, which will be of overall future benefit," stressed Mr. Glover.

On the subject of promoting tourism, Mr. Glover was delighted with the unified and harmonious spirit shown during promotional campaigns and talked about Mauritius's participation in the tourism fair of Berlin, following those of Paris, London, and Italy. Mauritius's penetration of Spain is promising and the Ministry of Tourism soon plans to enter the Scandinavian market, where Mauritius will be represented at the tourism fair for all Nordic countries.

Moreover, Mr. Glover spoke of the shelved plans to create a consultative tourism council and of a concrete plan to relaunch the handicrafts sector. On that subject, Mr. Glover said the ministry will begin taking concrete steps after the investigatory commission on the National Handicraft Centre winds up its work. Mr. Glover also welcomed the trend among Mauritian businessmen to invest in the hotel sector in Madagascar. "Complementary activities are perceived as a good thing," the minister said, "but we will keep a weather-eye out so that already trained Mauritian executives do not go work in the hotel industry in the Big Isle."

#### \* Iraqi Cement, Oil Refinery Accords Clarified

90AF0012E Port Louis THE SUN in French  
15 Mar 90 p 8

[Article: "Iraqi Ambassador Ends Dr. Rishi's Cement Bluff"]

[Text] The Iraqi Government never issued an export permit for cement to be shipped to the isle of Mauritius. This clarification was made yesterday in Port Louis by Mr. Fawzi al-Bander, Iraqi ambassador to Mauritius, who resides in Dar-es-Salaam.

The Iraqi ambassador's statement thus put an end to the deceitful statements of Dr. Rishi of the Venus Cement company, which had claimed it could import cement at a very good price from Iraq. The Iraqi cement has been awaited since last November.

On the cement issue, he said it is possible for cement to be obtained from a third party or from an international cartel selling Iraqi cement, but not from the state-owned Iraqi cement-exporting company.

Besides, he added, all the cement production for 1990 has already been sold.

Mr. Fawzi al-Bander said no official discussions have yet taken place regarding the proposal to build an oil refinery on one of our islands with Iraqi participation.

Meanwhile, Mr. Nundkeswarsing Bossoondyal, president of the Mauritius-Iraq Friendship Association, has announced that the Polar Football Association will tour Iraq very soon; the visit has been made possible by the Iraqi Peace Friendship Committee, the Iraqi Olympic Committee, and the Mauritius-Iraq Friendship Association.

We note also that our friend and colleague Henri Mari-mootoo, secretary general of the Newspapers and Printing Industries Employees Association, presented a letter to be forwarded [by the ambassador] to President Saddam Husayn. Among other things, the letter appeals for clemency for the British journalist Farzad Bazoft, who was recently sentenced to die.

The ambassador promised to do the necessary.

#### \* Branch of State Bank Approved for Madagascar

90AF0012D Port Louis THE SUN in French  
14 Mar 90 p 1

[Article: "State Bank to Madagascar: Agreement in Principle"]

[Text] The Malagasy Government has agreed in principle to allow the State Bank to open a branch in Madagascar, well-informed sources told THE SUN yesterday.

The project could end up as a joint venture, according to sources in the financial community.

No date has been set yet for launching this major venture in the field of Mauritian-Malagasy financial cooperation.

But technical experts from both sides are actively working to put the final touches on various aspects of the plan, it was learned.

#### Mozambique

#### Chissano Meets Press on Peace Talks, Democracy

MB120420090 Maputo Domestic Service  
in Portuguese 1730 GMT 12 Apr 90

[Report by Lisbon Correspondent Antonio Bernardo Cuna]

[Text] President Joaquim Alberto Chissano reaffirmed in Lisbon today the government of the People's Republic

of Mozambique wants to begin direct talks with the so-called Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] as soon as possible.

President Joaquim Chissano told a large group of reporters in Queluz Palace that a delegation is ready for direct talks with the Renamo ringleaders. He did not reveal any names.

The Mozambican head of state said the venue and date of the talks must urgently be resolved so that discussions on the principal issues can begin.

The Mozambican authorities have proposed Malawi as the venue and 16 April as the date on which the talks should begin. Indications are that the armed bandits do not want Malawi as the venue.

Manuel Franque, representative of the so-called Renamo in Lisbon, appeared on Portuguese television on 11 April, saying his gang wants talks to be held in Lisbon.

In addition to the peace process, President Chissano discussed at length with the reporters strengthening and consolidating democracy in Mozambique. He placed particular emphasis on the current debate on the draft project for revising the Constitution.

President Joaquim Chissano told the journalists that the issue of whether to have a one-party or a multiparty system in our country will be discussed by all Mozambican people during the debate on the draft project for revising the Constitution. This debate must involve all Mozambicans, irrespective of their political or ideological beliefs.

Commenting on his official visit to Portugal, scheduled to end today, President Joaquim Chissano said it had been positive because the Portuguese Government and Portuguese businessmen are very interested in cooperating with Mozambique.

The Mozambican head of state met with businessmen in Lisbon and Oporto and expressed their willingness to invest in our country. In fact, some made concrete proposals that must be channeled through the appropriate routes for discussion and approval.

President Joaquim Chissano today toured the installations of Portugal's Radio Marconi enterprise, which cooperates with TCM [Mozambique Telecommunications Company]. The two companies signed an accord on (?traffic) and investment in the field of telecommunications in 1989.

President Joaquim Chissano also visited [name indistinct] enterprise, dealing in metallurgy and mechanics. Like Radio Marconi, that company cooperates with the People's Republic of Mozambique, and we saw Mozambican trainees there sent by Cometal-Mometal [Mozambique Metallurgical Company].

Another meeting this evening between President Chissano and Mario Soares, his Portuguese counterpart, will mark the end of the Mozambican head of state's visit to that European nation.

### President Returns From Foreign Visit 13 Apr

*MB1304111890 Maputo Domestic Service  
in Portuguese 1030 GMT 13 Apr 90*

[Excerpt] President Joaquim Chissano returned to Maputo this morning after visiting three countries, namely Ghana, Spain, and Portugal. The visit began in Accra on 3 April and concluded in Lisbon yesterday. [passage omitted]

### \* President Chissano Returns From Libya, Algeria

*90AF0004D Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese  
22 Feb 90 p 1*

[Article by Bernardo Mavanga]

[Text] Joaquim Alberto Chissano, president of the FRELIMO [Mozambique Liberation Front] Party and of the republic, returned to this country yesterday morning, following official and working visits to Libya and Algeria at the invitation of presidents Muammar Qadhafi and Chadli Bendjedid, respectively. At Maputo's international airport, the Mozambican chief of state was welcomed home by Marcelino dos Santos, president of the People's Assembly, Prime Minister Mario de Graca Machungo and members of the government, the diplomatic corps and the general public.

At the airport, the chief of state was honored with a military salute and the singing of the national anthem, marking the return of the highest leader of the Mozambican people. Both in Libya and in Algeria, the presidential party took part in discussions, analyzing the existing cooperation between Mozambique and these countries and aiming to restart and develop this cooperation. Notable results included the renegotiation of Mozambique's \$87 million debt to Libya; Algeria's readiness to discuss ways to alleviate our \$100 million debt to that country; and the signing of several accords with the two countries.

A press communique released Tuesday evening in Algeria notes that, in analyzing bilateral relations, cooperation and trade, the two chiefs of state reiterated their wish to develop these and agreed to make every effort to see that all the possibilities for cooperation between the two countries are realized in all areas.

To carry out the principles agreed on by the two leaders, the two parties signed a technical, scientific and cultural accord.

The press release noted that, during the visit, the two presidents exchanged information regarding the situation prevailing in their respective regions, namely,

southern Africa and the Magreb. President Chissano lauded the process of unification of the Arab Magreb. .[text missing].

According to the Algerian press communique, the two presidents also hailed the future independence of Namibia, to take place on 21 March, following last November's elections, in which the SWAPO [South West African People's Organization], led by President Sam Nujoma, was the victor. The two leaders also congratulated the South African people for the victories they have recently achieved in their struggle against the system of apartheid, particularly the release of Nelson Mandela, their historic nationalist leader.

Presidents Chissano and Bendjedid reaffirmed their solidarity with the liberation struggle of the Palestinian people, under the leadership of their legitimate representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and they condemned the repression of the Palestinian people by the Israeli occupation forces.

In Algeria, President Bendjedid informed the Mozambican chief of state of the efforts undertaken by the Arab tripartite high committee to restore peace, legality and territorial integrity in the Levant.

As a result of the discussions conducted in Algeria, financial institutions of the two countries should meet shortly to discuss ways to rescale the Mozambican debt (in the amount mentioned above) and it was agreed to create mixed companies involving both the state and private sectors.

Areas identified for economic, technical and scientific cooperation between the two countries include agriculture, forestry, fishing and mines and also hydrocarbons.

Libya, the first country to be visited by the chief of state, agreed to grant a moratorium and to rescale the Mozambican debt. It was also agreed that, within 3 months, the banking institutions of the two countries would meet to negotiate the technical agreements regarding this matter.

In their discussions, Mozambique and Libya concluded that they should approve statutes for the formation of companies whose creation was agreed upon in earlier discussions.

**\* Machungo Spells Out New Economic Orientation**  
90AF0015A Paris JEUNE AFRIQUE ECONOMIE  
in French Feb 90 pp 66-67

[Interview with Prime Minister Mario da Graca Machungo by Jean-Pierre Bejot in Paris: "From Collectivism to Liberalism"; first paragraph is editor's lead]

[Text] To attract investors, peace must be assured. Peace with the rebels, and social peace.

Sometimes the pupil can teach his masters. Last 28 July the sole party in power, the Mozambique Liberation Front (Frelimo), which declared itself Marxist-Leninist in 1977, presented its new national program. The latter spoke of "an independent foreign policy," dropping all references to the "international working class movement." It announced the opening up of party organizations to merchants, businessmen, and clerics.

It was not enough. For Maputo authorities, 1990 began with an escalation in domestic problems: one after another, port, railway, hospital, and state company employees struck. Tens of thousands of workers walked off their jobs to win salary demands.

The austerity policy drawn up and implemented with the help of the World Bank and the IMF experts only added to an unbearable situation that has steadily worsened since independence. It was not enough to propose, shortly before the European East Bloc countries did, a new plan for society: the proclaimed democracy and liberalism had to be acted on.

President Joachim Chissano took a first step in that direction last 9 January. It took him all of five hours to publicly announce the establishment of a new state and party constitution, the introduction of direct universal voting rights, the independence of judicial power and...the legalization of strikes.

On a recent stop in Paris, Mario da Graca Machungo, prime minister and minister of planning, was quite willing to respond to JAE's [JEUNE AFRIQUE ECONOMIE] questions in order to spell out Mozambique's new political and economic orientations.

[JEUNE AFRIQUE ECONOMIE] You are both prime minister and minister of planning, the symbol of Marxism-Leninism. Should we see this as the continuation of economic centralization, even while you announce a new development strategy?

[Machungo] Planning is precisely what is needed to predict changes and to guide development of the economy. If I am also prime minister, it is not to affirm the preeminence of planning in our policy. It is simply that, in a transition situation like ours, [where we are moving] from collectivism to liberalism, we think planning bodies should be centralized at the government level.

[JEUNE AFRIQUE ECONOMIE] Can you tell us how your economic recovery program is doing?

[Machungo] We are seeing a significant surge in foreign investment in our country. Already 15 projects worth a total of 94 million dollars have been approved: 25 other proposals from foreign investors are under study. They include mining, agricultural, forestry, and fishing projects. But particular emphasis is being placed on tourism as well. Through our new investment code, we offer very favorable conditions, notably the right to repatriate capital and profits.



[JEUNE AFRIQUE ECONOMIE] Can you tell us the nationalities of these investors?

[Machungo] They come from all over: British, French, Portuguese, Americans, Italians, Japanese, East European.

[JEUNE AFRIQUE ECONOMIE] And how is cooperation with those East European countries changing?

[Machungo] We maintain mutually advantageous economic relations with them. We have many joint-venture proposals with companies from those countries, particularly in fishing, industry, and agriculture.

[JEUNE AFRIQUE ECONOMIE] How is cooperation with France going?

[Machungo] We are undertaking some very sizable projects in all economic and social sectors as part of our bilateral cooperation with France. We take a serene view of the future [relations] between our two countries and would like to strengthen and consolidate an already active cooperation, exemplified by the arrival of new French enterprises every year in Mozambique.

[JEUNE AFRIQUE ECONOMIE] No partnership is possible without security. That is Mozambique's weak point. How is the situation progressing?

[Machungo] It is progressing favorably toward negotiation and, we hope, peace. Our first steps have not really been positive yet, but we must continue. Investors are confident in our future and our will to succeed.

[JEUNE AFRIQUE ECONOMIE] In the past, people did not hesitate to blame you for the Nkemali accords. Do the changes in Namibia and South Africa make you feel you were right before your time?

[Machungo] Oh yes! That was our policy from the beginning. Peace had to be forged in southern Africa. And to do that, South Africa had to be taken into account.

[JEUNE AFRIQUE ECONOMIE] You have just signed a new three-year program with the World Bank. How would you describe your relations with that institution?

[Machungo] Relations with those technocrats who are unbudgingly technocratic are not easy. Sometimes they forget social problems. They must be made to understand that individual solutions to specific problems are needed. There cannot be just one menu for all mouths.

[JEUNE AFRIQUE ECONOMIE] What are your orientations for agriculture?

[Machungo] We intend to develop peasant agriculture. Only peasants can rapidly overhaul our rural production methods. We do not have the necessary technical resources and managerial know-how for big projects. Collectivism has been discarded. We intend to create the specific conditions for improving the working conditions and management of peasant farms. If peasants want to

organize themselves into cooperatives, we will create conditions to favor that. But we are leaving them free to choose how they will organize themselves. We have very dynamic individual farmers and also well-organized private farmer associations.

[JEUNE AFRIQUE ECONOMIE] Apart from agriculture, what are your productive priorities?

[Machungo] We are stressing food industries, forestry, fishing, and the development of rural transportation to improve marketing of agricultural products. We are also assigning priority to light industry and the mining sector.

[JEUNE AFRIQUE ECONOMIE] How is your Pendo gas-extraction project coming along?

[Machungo] It is being watched very, very closely by the British group Lonrho, the Italian [company] Montedison, and South African companies. It could materialize very quickly, because we are winding up our estimates of reserves and because a group has been set up to market the gas, particularly to South Africa.

[JEUNE AFRIQUE ECONOMIE] What is your industrial policy?

[Machungo] Through our development and local industry institute, we intend to provide financial, technological, and management support to small and medium businesses. We think that is the best way to develop investment. A great deal can be done with little financing. Our problem is the lack of management personnel. Because of the prior existence of colonialism, we do not have an industrial tradition in Mozambique. Our CEOs are getting their training on the job, which enables them, moreover, to better adapt to markets and to develop their commercial aggressiveness.

[JEUNE AFRIQUE ECONOMIE] Does 1993 strike you as more of a threat or an opportunity for Africa?

[Machungo] In matters of economic integration, we are very far behind. A united Europe is going to be very demanding about the quality of the products we will want to export to its markets. Well, we will not be able to offer products of the quality required by European standards. If Europe wants to help us, it must give us the means to improve the quality of our export products. I would also like to say that protectionism solves nothing. It is commercial capability and competition that drive the economy. Markets must be opened. And even if this creates a few problems for us, we will also benefit.

[JEUNE AFRIQUE ECONOMIE] You have in your subregion an organization that is an embryonic common market, the SADCC (South African Development Coordination Conference). How do you think it is evolving?

[Machungo] The SADCC is an organization with a great future: the best of its kind in Africa. But we do not want it to be the framework for a type of subregional integration in which each member country is at a different level

of development. Integration should, by definition, contribute to harmonizing the level of development of its members. Nonetheless, we are in the process of building real regional cooperation in southern Africa. What Africa needs to succeed is professionalism. We must work seriously, determinedly, and fight the tendency toward corruption. By becoming law-abiding states, African states will create their environment conducive to the development of business.

#### \* Proposal To Privatize Small Ports Discussed

90AF0004A Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese  
21 Feb 90 p 1

[Text] A proposal to open small ports, which heretofore have been the responsibility of the Mozambique Railways [CFM], to private exploitation by economic agents, companies or interested institutions was discussed yesterday during the proceedings of the 14th Coordinating Council of the Ministry of Transport and Telecommunications [MTC]. According to the spokesman for the meeting, the participants were in agreement on the matter.

Although the participants agreed on the proposal to "liberate" small ports from the management of the CFM, the source explained that deliberation and possible approval of the move will rest with higher government authorities, who could take responsibility for defining the standards to be observed in the private exploitation of these infrastructures.

This "liberation" is considered necessary and strategically important, since it will enable Mozambique Railways to devote itself to the management of the large ports, which are economically more profitable. Moreover, it will allow the CFM to concentrate its efforts on the development of the large ports.

The proposal regarding the "release" of small ports from the CFM management is included in the document on transport policy, specifically the chapter on policy for the port-railway sector, which dominated yesterday's discussions. The source said that the participants discussed in detail various aspects of the functioning, organization and management of the port-railway sector.

The spokesman for the Coordinating Council of the MTC reported that the transport sector as a whole took in \$33 million in revenues last year, up 34 percent over the previous year. The record to date—\$109 million—was set in 1973.

The source explained that foreign funds are being mobilized for development projects in the three "corridors," specifically the Beira, Limpopo and Nacala corridors, through which various merchandise from neighboring landlocked countries is shipped. The source added that during this year "we are counting on international traffic, although on a small scale, on the Limpopo and Nacala lines."

It is a goal of the Mozambican Government that, as the projects planned for these corridors go forward toward completion, there will be a corresponding increase in the flow of merchandise from the countries that use our ports and railways.

#### \* FRG Truck Offer to Defense Ministry

90AF0004B Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese  
21 Feb 90 p 1

[Text] Yesterday in Maputo, the delegation of the FRG Parliamentary Budget Committee, which has been visiting our country since last Monday, formally presented a donation of 24 "Man-diesel" trucks and spare parts, medical material and other items in aid to the Mozambican Army. This is the first gift of this kind from the FRG for the benefit of the FAM [Armed Forces of Mozambique]

Rudi Walther, leader of the delegation of the FRG Parliamentary Budget Committee, formally presented the ignition keys for the trucks to Col Ismael Manguera, general director of logistics of the National Defense Ministry, in a ceremony witnessed by high-ranking officers of the Mozambican Army.

During the presentation ceremony, the FRG ambassador accredited in Maputo said the purpose of the gift was to improve the capability of the Mozambican Armed Forces during combat missions, as well as to permit the distribution of emergency aid products to locales that are not easily accessible.

"With this presentation, the Federal Republic of Germany [FRG] seeks to demonstrate once again its interest in cooperation in support of the defense capability of the Mozambican Armed Forces against attack by the armed bandits," the ambassador said.

Accepting the gift on behalf of the Mozambican Government, Col. Ismael Manguera expressed thanks for the gesture, noting that it reflected the confidence of the FRG Government in its Mozambican partner and that the aid is needed now as never before, particularly in this critical phase that the country is experiencing because of the actions of the armed bandits.

Manguera stressed the need for closer relations between the two countries in this area. He added that, to this end, the FRG Parliament must become even better informed about the situation in Mozambique.

Following the ceremony, the FRG delegation was received by Marcelino dos Santos, president of the People's Assembly, with whom the delegation exchanged views about the situation in Mozambique and the southern zone of Africa in general.

**\* Cooperation Accords Signed in Algeria***90AF0004C Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese  
21 Feb 90 p 1*

[Article by Bernardo Mavanga, NOTICIAS special envoy in Algeria]

[Text] Yesterday, Tuesday, President Joaquim Chissano ended his official and friendly visit to Algeria, which began last Saturday at the invitation of Chadli Bendjedid, his Algerian counterpart. The end of the four-day visit was marked by the signing of a general accord for economic, scientific, technical and cultural cooperation between the governments of the two African countries.

The discussions conducted by the two countries resulted in the identification of potential areas of cooperation, such as agriculture, forestry, fishing, mining and hydrocarbons, in which the two governments will promote the creation of mixed associations, linking the public and private sectors. Goods that could be considered for production in these specific areas include cotton, sugar, coffee and edible oils, and also fish. Also in the areas noted above, there are plans to rehabilitate industrial units to go into active production for domestic consumption and for export.

Mozambique and Algeria propose to make an effort to form associations with third parties to carry out the projects envisioned in the accords. The Algerians have already voiced a willingness to provide technical assistance in the areas of hydrocarbons and electric power, civil engineering and construction.

The two parties agreed that a delegation of economic representatives would come to this country to examine the possibility of cooperation in these and other areas, through direct observation of the situation here. According to an official source closely involved in the discussions, the delegation should include members of the Algerian Chamber of Commerce, so they themselves may explore the existing possibilities for fruitful cooperation and also for promoting and developing the flow of trade between the two countries.

The two parties stressed the importance of stronger cooperation in the areas of communications, sports and culture, bearing in mind that these are important factors in bringing the two peoples together and developing friendly relations.

According to the same source, with regard to the debt question, the Mozambican-Algerian discussions resulted in a recommendation that the financial institutions of the two countries meet to discuss means to alleviate the problem of the Mozambican-Algerian debt, estimated at \$100 million; this presupposes Algeria's agreement to rescale the debt.

Mozambique and Algeria feel it is extremely important to rehabilitate the mixed company SAMAFOR [Algerian-Mozambican Forest Company] and have recommended that the administration of this company adopt

measures to make it fully functioning. The two countries pledged to support the company directors in creating the conditions to achieve this.

Before he left Algeria, President Chissano went to Tiaret and Tlemcen provinces, where he visited a tourist center and several manufacturing units; notably, an auto body assembly plant, a food processing plant, a textile factory and a telephone plant.

**\* WHO Official Addresses Health Ministers***90AF0004F Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese  
22 Feb 90 p 8*

[Text] Professor G.L. Monekosso, African regional director of the WHO, assured yesterday that the regional offices of that organization are prepared to play a dynamic, catalytic and coordinating role and to provide concrete support so that the Regional Center for Health Development [CRDS] can become a potential instrument for cooperation among the members of the group of "Five." Monekosso spoke during the opening session of the third meeting of the Council of Representatives of the CRDS signatory states. Taking part in the meeting, which began yesterday, are the ministers of Angola, of the host country [Mozambique] and of Sao Tome e Principe and a representative of Guinea-Bissau. Cape Verde did not send a representative to this meeting.

Dr Monekosso's address, to which the participants of the meeting listened with close attention, reconfirms the willingness of that individual and of the WHO to continue to provide multifaceted support to the group of "Five," so they may ensure that primary health care will be available to most of the population in each of the countries and so they may achieve the basic goals set forth in the declaration of Alma Alta, approved in 1978.

The regional director of this specialized agency of the United Nations reiterated his personal commitment to turn the CRDS into an instrument to strengthen cooperation among the Portuguese-speaking African countries.

Dr Monekosso honored the third meeting of the Council of Representatives of Member States of the CRDS with his participation and pertinent remarks during the opening session and the discussion of the report on the Center's activities in the 1988/1989 period. Monekosso said the "Five" would be afforded every opportunity and opening to encourage the continuing search for solutions to the problems confronting them in the area of education, training and qualification of health personnel.

Confirming his total commitment to support all the initiatives that interest the Group, he announced that the Regional Office of the WHO is giving priority to establishing a network of African institutions for public health training.

He said that, to this end, a working international conference would be held next June on public health training in



the African region, to establish the guiding principles for training in that area and the bases for the relations between the parties and for cooperation accords between African and European institutions, or possibly institutions of other continents.

The Regional Center for Health Development is the third African institution devoted to education, training, qualification and research in public health matters; the WHO and, in particular, the member countries are interested in providing it with the human, financial and material resources so that it will be equipped to offer a complete education, in which theory and practice are inseparable components.

#### Looking to the Future

Representing the host country, Mozambican Health Minister Leonardo Simao opened the meeting; he urged the participants to focus the discussion on the Center's program for the 1990/1991 period, bearing in mind "our immediate needs in terms of qualified cadres, but not disregarding the large problems of the future."

According to the Mozambican health minister, it is important to bear in mind the CRDA's role in studying the health situation of the member countries, because, in his opinion, that institution "must be equipped to assist our ministries in the definition of sectorial policies and in operational research on health programs."

Referring to the activity undertaken by the Center in the last two-year period, Leonardo Simao said that, despite the problems that impeded the normal functioning of the CRDS, it had gained experience in training and had heightened its prestige among the member countries. He praised the efforts and sacrifice of the instructors, workers and other health professionals of the member states who had helped make it possible to achieve the present level. Since its creation about five years ago, the Center has trained 483 individuals in various areas.

#### Road To Take

[Text missing] The WHO representative refuted allegations that the member countries lacked funds to train cadres in the health sector. He said that, in the annual "envelope" which the WHO gives to each country, it is possible to find funds for study grants, education or training courses, "as long as there is a political will to develop this Center."

He argued that the "Five" must join forces to achieve common goals, assuring that, as he himself had promised, as regional director, the WHO could lend a hand to support the teaching staff, subsidizing it with supplementary funding, among other ways of strengthening the Center.

During the discussion, Professor Monekosso presented the lines on which he could base his personal support and that of the regional offices and he urged that the cadres

from each country should be sent for short-term assignments to strengthen the technical capacity of the CRDA.

#### \* Work on Nacala Corridor To Resume in June

90AF0004E Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese  
12 Feb 90 p 8

[Text] The rehabilitation of the Nacala rail line, one of Malawi's principal avenues to the sea, will be resumed in June and should be completed in two years, Ferreira Mendes, national director of ports and railways of Mozambique, informed this newspaper yesterday.

With 615 kilometers of track, of which more than 200 kilometers have already been repaired, the Nacala line was a frequent target of sabotage by the armed bandits, culminating in its shut-down in 1984. According to Ferreira Mendes, the process of rebuilding the line was completely abandoned in its central section, between Nampula and Cuamba, in May 1988, because of the increasing instability in the area where the rehabilitation of the corridor was in progress.

A four-year program for the rehabilitation of the line kinking Malawi with the Mozambican port of Nacala was initiated in 1983. It was budgeted at \$223.4 million and financed by six European countries, including the EEC.

Engineer Ferreira Mendes said that France, one of the major investors in the Nacala rehabilitation project, will provide some nonlethal logistical support, while Mozambique and Malawi will be responsible for protecting the restoration of said line.

The source explained that, although they are sporadic, there have been domestic shipments of merchandise from the port of Nacala to Lichinga, the capital of Niassa Province.

The constant sabotage of the Nacala rail line forced the Republic of Malawi to reroute most of its shipments to South African ports, at a cost of \$60 million to \$100 million annually.

The "Nacala Corridor" offers the southern African countries an outlet to the sea, avoiding the much longer routes to the South African ports.

Last month Engineer Mario Dimande, general director of the National Ports and Railways Company of Mozambique, said that the rehabilitation of the Limpopo rail line was proceeding at a satisfactory pace; on that occasion, he said that traffic would soon be resumed between Maputo and Chicualacuala, benefiting Zimbabwe and Zambia.

The Limpopo and Nacala lines, which are economically viable for the Mozambican port-railway sector, are closed both to domestic and international traffic because of the war of destabilization waged by the armed bandits.

These lines carry various merchandise imported by or for export from Malawi, Zambia, Botswana and Zimbabwe.

#### \* Balance of FPLM Victories During 1989

90EF0244G Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese  
17 Jan 90 p 1

[Text] During various operations carried out last year, units of the Mozambique Armed Forces (FAM/FPLM) stationed in the provinces of Sofala, Nampula, and Gaza destroyed a total of approximately 2,000 armed bandits, rescued 16,500 peasants who had been living involuntarily with the criminals, and captured varying quantities of war materiel. In the course of these operations hundreds of other bandits were captured by our forces, while many others surrendered under the terms of the Amnesty Law. These victories by our forces were reported by our colleagues at the DIARIO DE MOCAMBIQUE, quoting authorized military sources.

Units of the Mozambique Armed Forces stationed in Sofala Province destroyed 945 armed bandits and captured another 191 in the course of various operations carried out last year, according to the DIARIO DE MOCAMBIQUE.

During the same period 360 bandits surrendered to our authorities under the terms of the Amnesty Law, which expired last 31 December.

According to DIARIO DE MOCAMBIQUE, quoting a source at the Provincial Military Command in Sofala, during the same period the FAM freed 12,904 local residents who had been living involuntarily with the criminals.

The Mozambican Army also captured from the enemy 844 weapons of the AKM and AK-47 type, four 82-mm mortars, and six 60-mm mortars in addition to other military equipment and various tools that had been stolen from the defenseless population.

For their part, Armed Forces units stationed in Nampula during last year destroyed 568 armed bandits and captured another 301.

In addition, 150 of the criminals' collaborators were put out of action and approximately 2,500 peasants freed.

Quoting a journalist who spoke on the radio program "Voz de Combate," the DIARIO DE MOCAMBIQUE writes that during these operations the FAM/FPLM captured, among other military supplies, 3,537 rounds of ammunition for weapons of the AKM type, seven bazookas, and one 81-mm mortar.

The attack on, and quick occupation of, the base in Narnilasse, district of Murrupula, on 31 January 1989—a base which until that time had been regarded as a regional base—is described as the greatest victory achieved by the FAM/FPLM in Nampula.

In Gaza during the same period our forces destroyed 410 bandits and captured another 26, in addition to destroying a number of encampments and freeing more than 1,200 citizens who were living as captives of the criminals.

Also during the same period 162 bandits surrendered to the authorities of the region; they have already been reintegrated into society.

The above information was disclosed during the Eighth Session of the Provincial Assembly held recently in Xai-Xai under the direction of Governor Francisco Pateguana.

#### \* Balance of FPLM 1989 Victories in Gaza

90EF0244H Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese  
17 Jan 90 p 3

[Text] The Mozambique Armed Forces-FPLM [People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique] stationed in Gaza Province during last year destroyed more than 400 bandits and captured another 26 in addition to destroying a number of encampments and freeing more than 1,200 citizens who were living involuntarily with the criminals. During the same period 162 former bandits surrendered to our authorities under the terms of the Amnesty Law and have now been reintegrated into society.

This information was disclosed recently in the course of the most recent session of the Provincial Assembly, whose work was directed by Gaza Governor Francisco Pateguana.

According to the report of the Permanent Committee of that body concerning last year's activities, the results obtained by the FAM [Mozambique Armed Forces] were made possible by the close relationship between the Defense and Security Forces and the local residents, who voluntarily agreed to participate in the political and military training program and in the work of surveillance in order to neutralize the enemy actions.

The bandits nonetheless intensified their terrorist activities last year in the districts of Mandlakazi, Chibuto, Chokwe, Bilene-Massengir, Mabalane, and Massagena, where they carried out massacres of the defenseless residents.

With respect to agricultural production, the document reports that in the 1988-89 harvest season the planned targets were not achieved for cereal grains and vegetables, which fulfilled the target by 74 percent and 93 percent respectively. Corn and cotton production exceeded the planned targets by 12 percent and 98 percent respectively.

"At the present time," the report states, "the war of aggression waged against us from abroad is the factor most strongly influencing agricultural production. Finding an alternative to this situation is dependent on our initiative in involving all the assemblies and deputies

at the various levels in the mobilization of the population and in the rational utilization of all fertile areas for agriculture."

It is known that the provincial government provided assistance to growers who lacked sufficient financial resources by granting them fertile lands belonging to some state enterprises as well as financing some of their agricultural operations.

In addition, a program was implemented to redimension the cultivated areas of the state agricultural enterprises with a view to adapting these units to their real productive capacities.

It was disclosed on this occasion that at the present time Gaza Province has 284,000 adversely affected residents and 100,000 refugees, in addition to 2,790 persons repatriated from the neighboring countries.

Of the total of affected persons, more than 13,000 families are already growing crops with a view toward establishing self-sufficiency in the food sector in an overall area of more than 3,000 hectares.

#### In the Social Area

The report of the Gaza Provincial Committee states that from September of last year to date, the armed bandits destroyed 18 classrooms and caused the paralyzation of 43 elementary schools.

It also notes that of the 136,000 students attending school at that level of instruction more than 11,000 are war refugees, of which more than 8,500 have already been reintegrated.

It is known that some progress has been made in arranging for graduates of the sixth and ninth grades of general education to continue their studies, but some difficulties persist with respect to organizing graduates of the fifth grade because of the war situation.

The report states that in the health sector there was an improvement in the supply of medicines during last year—a fact that contributed toward improving health care for the residents of that region of the country.

The health care network was also expanded somewhat with the opening of a new maternity hospital in the Inhamissa region and the health center at Chilaulene. This project was carried out within the framework of Mozambican-Italian cooperation. The provincial nursery and kindergarten—both located in the city of Xai-Xai—were also restored.

Speaking at the closing session of the Provincial Assembly, Francisco Pateguana stressed the need for the process of revising the Constitution to be accompanied by an ample popular debate, so as to ensure that the new basic law of the nation will embody the desires of all the Mozambican people.

#### \* French Doctors Increase Aid to Refugees

90EF0244A Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese  
10 Jan 90 p 3

[Text] Jean-Louis Gallo, director of the nongovernmental organization "Doctors Without Frontiers," said yesterday in Maputo that this year his organization plans to increase its flight time, restore more hospitals, and increase its staff in order to provide medical assistance to the population affected by the war and the natural disasters.

Gallo declared that the aim of his organization is to provide health care in areas where there are no doctors, but because of the great insecurity prevailing there, its activities are limited currently to the relatively stable areas. The lack of transportation for access to these areas is one of the greatest problems disturbing the work of the organization.

"Because of the war activities," Gallo lamented, "we had to flee several times from the provinces of Zambezia and Manica." He went on to announce that in Zambezia his organization has restored the hospitals at Mocuba and Gurue. In Mocuba it is supporting the nutritional program for children who are victims of the famine.

Gallo stated that in carrying out these activities he has the support of our country's Ministry of Health. "Given the conditions prevailing in the country," he said, "Mozambican personnel are doing the best they can in support of our organization," he acknowledged.

The lack of equipment and supplies for their work, and the growing concentration of refugees in the outskirts of the cities, are the principal challenges the organization faces.

At the present time the institution has a staff of 20, consisting of doctors, nurses, and technicians.

Doctors Without Frontiers, which began its work in Mozambique in 1984, is a nongovernmental organization founded in France 17 years ago. It brings aid to the Third World population that is affected by war and by natural disasters.

#### \* Norway Finances Malanga Port School

90EF0244B Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese  
18 Jan 90 p 1

[Text] A port school consisting of seven classrooms, an office, and a gymnasium, among other features, has been under construction since last December in Malanga district of this city. It is being financed by the Norwegian Agency for International Development (NORAD) in the amount of approximately \$2 million.

Construction of a new school is part of a port project that includes restoration of the former school, construction of a laundry, and improvement of the workers' diet.



Project director Sansao Muzima, who supplied us with this information, said that the work begun last December should be completed by November of this year.

He maintained, however, that some problems are impeding the normal pace of the work, such as the late delivery of materials and equipment and the process of relocating the residents of the area covered by the project.

"Relocating the residents is proving difficult," our source said, "but we have already been provided with a tract of land in Laulane district, and these people will be taken there."

The director said the new school will provide technical and scientific training to Mozambicans who will work in the port sector.

According to Muzima, admission to the school is open to students who have completed the 6th grade in an academic program, but first priority will be given to children of port workers. The courses of study will be of three years' duration.

#### \* Sofala Sugar Companies To Expand Cultivation

90EF0244C Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese  
15 Jan 90 p 3

[Text] The workers of the sugar companies of Sofala Province—the Sena Sugar Estates, in Marromeu; the Buzi Company, in the district of the same name; and the Mozambique Sugar Company, in Dondo district—are engaged in expanding the areas under cultivation to sugarcane, with a view to increasing sugar production over the next several years.

According to DIARIO DE MOCAMBIQUE, this work also involves technical experts who in turn are involved in restoring the machinery, which was damaged some time ago, using for this purpose replacement parts that they themselves have innovated.

According to the report presented at the provincial constituent conference held in Beira for the purpose of forming the Sugar Workers Union, the critical moments for the sugar companies of Sofala Province came in the period between 1984 and 1986. The report states that during this period sugar production dropped to 3,162 tons at the Mozambique Sugar Company; to 1,909.6 tons at the Buzi Company; and, to 698 tons at the Sena Sugar Estates.

The decline in sugar production at these sugar companies was caused by the departure en masse of private sugarcane growers and also of some skilled workers, in both cases because of the activities of the armed bandits.

The report emphasizes, however, that there has been some improvement in production figures. On the other hand, the problem of the shortage of transportation and irrigation equipment is growing worse.

The torrential rains that fell on central Mozambique during the past three days caused flooding of the port of Beira and in other parts of Sofala Province, Radio Mozambique reported yesterday.

Rice and sweet potato crops in the Green Zones of the city of Beira were under water. In some suburban areas surrounding the city the water reached a height of two meters, forcing many families to abandon their homes.

#### \* India Finances Cement Factory Project

90EF0244D Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese  
17 Jan 90 p 1

[Article by Salomao Muimambo: "Indian Government Will Finance Restoration"]

[Text] The Indian Government will make available to our country the sum of approximately \$2.5 million—about 2 billion meticals—in the form of materials and technology for the restoration and modernization of the Dondo Cement Plant in Sofala Province. This was announced by Indian ambassador to Mozambique B. M. Nayar when he spoke with our newspaper yesterday afternoon.

This sum comes from the African fund created by the nonaligned nations in September 1986 in Zimbabwe to give economic support to the Front-Line States—the countries that have a common border with South Africa. India, as we know, is assuming the presidency of the fund.

The African fund currently has approximately \$430 million to support all the Front-Line states. Listed as donors to the fund are Germany, Norway, Sweden, France, the Soviet Union, and the United States, among others.

According to Ambassador Nayar, India contributed to the fund approximately \$35 million, of which sum approximately 5 to 6 million are destined for our country.

It is in this context that the Indian Government is making available the approximately \$2.5 million for the restoration and modernization of the Dondo Cement Plant.

The dates for commencement of the work have not yet been set, but according to the ambassador everything will depend on the study now being made by Indian experts who are in Mozambique for this specific purpose.

"By the end of January," the ambassador declared, "they are to present the plan listing the needs in terms of materials and technology to get the project under way. Only then can the dates be set for commencement of the work." He added that unless there are major difficulties, work could begin shortly.

In the ambassador's opinion, the process of restoration and modernization of this plant will be very complicated. He said the main reasons for this opinion were the obsolete nature of the equipment and the huge dimensions of the installations.

At the present time the Dondo Cement Plant is producing at approximately 2 percent of its real capacity. Although he did not disclose what the plant's new daily, monthly, or annual production would be after its restoration, the ambassador said production figures would increase substantially, to the point of satisfying the minimum needs of the province.

"After the study now under way is completed," he said, "it will be easy to estimate the plant's production, but for the present that is very difficult to do."

Nayar was very explicit in his assertion that his country's willingness to make this sum available for restoration of the Dondo plant is in no way predicated on any reciprocity of benefits on the part of our country. He described it as a gesture of friendship pure and simple, devoid of any commercial considerations.

#### Other Projects

The ambassador took the occasion to express his government's willingness to undertake a variety of development projects in Mozambique.

Accordingly, of the approximately \$5 to \$6 million that India is making available to our country through the African fund, approximately \$2 million are destined for the agricultural development projects in Nampula Province and at least \$1 million for the purchase of nonlethal equipment to protect the Limpopo Railway.

Other projects that India is expressing great interest in undertaking in Mozambique include, for example, a project for total utilization of Inhambane Province's coconuts for the extraction of oil.

Nayar added that medicinal alcohol can be extracted from cassava, and disclosed that India is also interested in undertaking projects in the sugar and fishing sectors.

He explained, however, that every proposal of the Indian Government is subject to approval by the Mozambican Government authorities.

"If an agreement is reached with the Mozambican Government, India will be able to invest in these projects," Indian Ambassador B. M. Nayar said in conclusion.

**\* Gaza's Agricultural Campaign Termed 'Positive'**  
90EF0244E Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese  
8 Jan 90 p 3

[Text] Positive results were obtained in the production of corn and cotton in Gaza Province, it was disclosed by the governor of the province, Francisco Pateguana, in addressing a banquet he gave last week to celebrate the new year. Gaza Province was also able to market more

than 4,000 tons of cashew nuts and 4,600 tons of mafura, overfulfilling by more than 3,000 tons the goal initially set for mafura. Rice was the only crop whose results were not satisfactory.

The decline in rice production was due basically to the shortage of water for irrigation caused by the priority assigned by the government to the repair of the Massingir Dam, which is the principal source of supply of water for irrigation. This fact in turn caused a shortage of rice and a consequent rise in price on the market.

Fulfillment of the 1989 targets for corn and cotton was made possible by the excellent results achieved in the second harvest, particularly by the growers in the family, mixed, and private sectors.

With a view to increasing the yields obtained by the local peasants, a number of agricultural extension offices have been opened in this region of the country. They will concentrate on developing the agriculture of Chokwe and Xai-Xai, where the extension agents last year carried out an excellent program of informing local growers of improved production techniques.

The governor of Gaza Province said, however, that despite the fact that the results achieved were encouraging, they are not yet sufficient to satisfy the needs of the population of the province. He therefore urged those present to redouble their efforts so that in 1990 these citizens can produce not only for themselves but also for the market.

"Last year," the governor said, "the political and military situation in the province was characterized by a climate of physical and social destabilization because of the incursions by the terrorists in the form of attacks on the districts of Mandiakazi, Chokwe, Chibuto, Bilene-Macia, Massingir, and Massangena during which they massacred the defenseless residents and destroyed communal villages, looting and destroying shops and goods belonging to the local citizens."

According to Francisco Pateguana, that situation of terror greatly impaired the production capacity of the local populations. During the same period there was a constant movement on the part of these inhabitants in search of relatively more secure places to live.

Last year saw new types of crime being perpetrated in Gaza Province, whereby an entire population would be kidnapped and subsequently herded to other areas, where the inhabitants were brutally tortured, had holes drilled in the palms of their hands, and then were tied up and killed with machetes. Pateguana said that some of these acts were systematically carried out in the vicinity of the military positions of the FMLN [People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique], to give the impression that the crimes had been committed by our forces.

It was disclosed on this occasion that because of the problems caused by the war and by the drought, a number of citizens were forced to seek refuge in the neighboring countries.

In response to these terrorist acts, the Mozambican Armed Forces stationed in that part of the country launched a number of pursuit actions, inflicting heavy losses and destroying a number of the enemy's encampments. In this way, a number of citizens who had been living against their will with the bandits were liberated. Pateguana emphasized that this effort included the destruction of the criminals' principal encampment, located in the district of Massengir.

Simultaneously with these actions carried out by the Defense and Security Forces, 162 armed bandits surrendered to the authorities under the provisions of the amnesty law and in so doing renounced their criminal life. They have been already integrated into society and are participating in the work of national reconstruction.

Pateguana also said, in speaking at the New Year's reception, that the search for peace and the creation of better living conditions for the citizenry have been established as central goals for 1990. Another important project will be the people's participation in the revision of the Constitution of the Republic.

"We must participate," the Governor of Gaza Province said, "by stating our views during the process of discussing the Constitution of the Republic, so that the Constitution will correspond to the concerns and aspirations of the citizens. We urge all citizens in the province to take part in this process with perseverance and determination."

In conclusion, he said it is essential that the local organs of the party and the government ensure the participation of the citizenry in the search for solutions to bring peace and well-being "by demonstrating to the world that Mozambicans want genuine peace under the leadership of the FRELIMO [Mozambique Liberation Front] Party, directed by its indisputable mentor, President Joaquim Chissano."

#### \* Portugal To Expand Construction Cooperation

90EF0244F Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese  
17 Jan 90 p 2

[Text] A protocol of intent that will result in the creation of a joint Portuguese-Mozambican construction company was signed yesterday in the nation's capital between the Portuguese industrialist, engineer J. Pais de Faria, and the Ministry of Construction and Water of our country. This information was obtained by our newspaper from the builder himself, who has been in the Mozambican capital for several days to confer with the relevant national agencies with a view to finding the most practical ways of speeding up and developing bilateral cooperation in the very important housing sector.

Pais de Faria's company is engaged in building prefabricated houses, metal processing, and anticorrosion treatment; its headquarters are in Pero de Pinheiro, Sintra.

He said he came to our country because he was interested in stimulating and developing the housing sector, having been encouraged by the positive measures adopted by the Mozambican authorities, particularly in regard to foreign investment.

"We have ascertained," he said, "that the Mozambican Government has been taking very courageous initiatives to make it possible for foreign investment to come in. We Portuguese are quite sensitive to this situation, because we have watched every step of your development. It is therefore natural that we should become aware of the possibilities of cooperation," he added, by way of explaining the main reasons that caused him to consider involving himself in this project in our country.

The builder went on to give some details concerning the project. He said a team of specialists comprising architects, engineers, and other technical experts in the construction field will arrive shortly in Maputo.

Pais de Faria announced that his company's plans also include a study of the possibility of producing materials in Mozambique for the construction of prefabricated houses to supply some of the countries in that region of Africa.

Aware of the shortage of skilled labor for this sector, the industrialist also spoke—in the course of the interview—of the need for training the Mozambican personnel who will work in the enterprise now being formed.

He told us that the company he heads has achieved recognition in the prefabricated construction field, citing the fact that for decades its presence in the field has been recognized by the International Association of Prefabrication Companies and also by the European Association of Prefabrication Companies.

When questioned by our newspaper as to the reasons that led him to choose our country as the site to carry out his activities, Pais de Faria—a man whose links to the construction industry go back more than 30 years—answered that there were two basic reasons. He said the first was related to the affection and admiration he feels for this country and its people, with whom he first became acquainted in 1973 when he visited both northern and southern Mozambique as a tourist. The second was based on the understanding he said he had acquired of the urgent situation caused by the housing shortage, and not only the shortage in the so-called residential districts but also the vast shortage in the education and health sectors and others.



**\* Ministry Publishes Survey on Malnutrition**

90EF02441 Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese  
12 Jan 90 p 3

[Text] In the period January-September of last year 61 nutrition surveys were carried out, principally among the refugee population in eight of the nation's provinces. This information is contained in the Ministry of Health's Quarterly Bulletin which was sent to our editorial offices.

In discussing the malnutrition situation in our country, the bulletin presents average percentages for malnutrition in each province: Cabo Delgado, approximately 5 percent of the population of the province; Nampula, 9 percent; Zambezia, 26 percent; Tete and Manica, 7.5 percent; Sofala and Inhambane, 5 percent; Gaza, 3.8 percent. There are no figures for Niassa and Maputo.

"These figures are considered to be among the highest cited in the international literature on the subject and indicate that a situation of acute hunger exists among these inhabitants that must be dealt with immediately," the Health Ministry bulletin states.

Concerning this point, the bulletin further states that "in addition, the districts of Nacala, Nampula Province; Pemba, Cabo Delgado; and Maravia, Tete showed currently high indices of malnutrition that fluctuate between 17 and 18 percent."

The bulletin reports that Zambezia currently has the highest average incidence of malnutrition in the nation—26.3 percent. "However," it adds, "these averages do not reflect completely the serious problems of hunger that are observed in a number of the provinces," because there are inhabitants with a high rate of malnutrition in other areas, as for example in the district of Manica in the province of the same name, where the rate is 48.3 percent.

According to the bulletin, some studies were conducted with the objective of evaluating the programs implemented by integrated action on the part of different sectors taking part in the Emergency Program at the provincial and/or district levels among inhabitants that in the initial evaluation were classified as having a "quite serious" nutritional situation, as for example the population of Lugela district in Zambezia and Manica district in Manica.

Our source goes on to say that the preliminary results of the surveys indicate positive results in diminishing the prevalence of malnutrition at the present time. It is possible to detect these results during relatively short periods (1 to 2 months) following the intervention.

**Survey Concerning Children**

The bulletin states that a study was carried out jointly by the National Directorate of Social Action and Social Support and the National Directorate of Health and Nutrition to investigate the family backgrounds of the

malnourished children admitted to Maputo Central Hospital and Jose Macamo General Hospital, with a view to identifying the most obvious problems.

To this end, 160 persons who escorted malnourished children to these two hospital centers were interviewed.

As a result, it was determined that in the great majority of cases the children who were admitted lived with their parents, that the father of the children contributed to their support, and that at least one person in the family had a monetary income.

It was also determined that 33 percent of the malnourished children who were admitted did not always live in the same locality. Of these children 15 percent were war refugees, almost all of whom had become refugees in the course of last year.

**Namibia**

**13 Apr Press Review on Current Problems, Issues**  
WA1304135390

[Editorial Report]

**TIMES OF NAMIBIA**

**SWAPO in 'Dilemma' Over Housing Issue**—Windhoek TIMES OF NAMIBIA in English on April 9 in a page 2 editorial states: "While Minister of Housing and Local Affairs Dr Libertine Amathila played on TV with toy houses, pretending that the SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] government would house the hundreds of thousands without roofs over their heads in such fairy tale accommodation, a mortgage strike was underway by those who have been housed by the National Building and Investment Corporation [NBIC]." SWAPO officials "often create unrealistic expectations by internalising and utopianising their euphoric states of mind. Out there in the real world, there are those who would organise fleeting dissatisfaction into solid grudges, 'Why pay your mortgages now, when better housing is promised tomorrow?'" "The NBIC requested the SWAPO establishment to publicly call off the boycott. They haven't done so yet. And their dilemma is an understandable one: A call to end the boycott will be construed as admission SWAPO cannot offer better than the NBIC. Goodbye, toytown. By remaining quiet, the SWAPO establishment can stay the inevitable confrontation with the unions."

**Seychelles**

**\* Foreign Interest in Oil Exploration Mounting**  
34000537A Victoria SEYCHELLES NATION  
in English 16 Mar 90 pp 1, 2

[Text] Foreign interest in exploring for oil in Seychelles is increasing, a top Seychelles National Oil Company (SNOC) official said yesterday.

Chairman Guy Morel said "things are looking very encouraging", as the interest being shown in Seychelles was beyond the SNOC's expectations.

"There is no doubt that from what I hear from the oil companies, this part of the world is the next one targeted," he said at a briefing on the Indian Ocean's first seminar on petroleum exploration which is to be held in Seychelles at the end of this year.

Present at the Maison du Peuple briefing were several ministers and other top government officials, members of the diplomatic corps and other SNOC staff.

Mr Morel said Seychelles had a part to play regarding oil in the region, as it was historically and geologically part of the land masses around it, such as Africa and India.

Noting that the SNOC had come a long way since it was formed, being built up from "almost nothing", he said: "Very soon we might not even have enough (undersea) shelves to look for oil."

He described December's seminar, to which 19 island and littoral states of East Africa, the Gulf and South Asia have been invited along with 12 organizations as another major step forward in the development of the company in the international oil scene.

"Today we are talking about getting the oil out," he said, compared to the situation two years ago when the company was just looking into the prospects for oil exploration in Seychelles.

"Our future goes beyond just the (continental) shelf that we have; I think we should see ourselves as a leader in this region for coordinating the various aspects (of oil exploration)," he said.

## Zambia

### \* Kaunda: No Pressure on ANC on Armed Struggle

34000411A Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English  
20 Feb 90 p 1

[Text] President Kaunda has said he will not pressurise the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa to suspend the armed struggle because he has great respect for the organisation's leadership.

In an interview with FINANCIAL TIMES correspondent, Patti Waldmeir who is based in South Africa, Cde Kaunda said the Frontline states of which he is chairman would not seek to mediate in talks between the ANC and other mass democratic movements and the white minority regime of South Africa.

Asked whether he would pressurise the ANC to comply with his call for the suspension of the armed struggle the President said as chairman of Frontline states and leader of Zambia he could only offer advice to the ANC if they turned it down "I won't take offence."

He felt it would be helpful to president Frederik de Klerk and his government if the ANC suspended—not stopped—the armed struggle to allow the state president to implement fully his planned changes including the lifting of the state of emergency and the release of all political prisoners.

"Suspending the struggle would be a judicious move. We have to look at both sides, which face difficulties that we must recognise. Mr de Klerk has the right wing—those on the lunatic fringe. The ANC has those that want to see the liberation war to the bitter end," he said.

He gave Mr de Klerk up to June 30 to institute moves to dismantle apartheid or face an explosion.

"At that time we might consider lifting sanctions," Cde Kaunda said.

Cde Kaunda said it was not necessary for him to meet Mr de Klerk again "unless he thinks there is something he should discuss".

He would not just like to travel to South Africa to pose before the international Press corps.

Freed ANC leader Cde Nelson Mandela had a key role to play in the expected talks.

Black leaders including Chief Buthelezi needed to come together to press for change.

On Cde Mandela's call for nationalisation of industries, Cde Kaunda said Zambia would not necessarily offer advice unless it was asked because the South African leaders knew their own situation better.

### \* Teachers Recruited To Stem Brain Drain

34000411D Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English  
20 Feb 90 p 9

[Text] The Teaching Service Commission has this year recruited 521 teachers from six Asian and African countries.

A spokesman in the Ministry of General Education, Youth and Sport said the teachers had been recruited from Egypt, Mauritius, Kenya, Indian, Ghana and Sri Lanka.

Of the 22 teachers recruited from Egypt, three were already in the country but none of the 18 recruited from Mauritius were in.

A total of 94 Kenyans have been recruited but only 14 had arrived by last week while seven of the 16 recruited from India had arrived.

Of the 344 recruited from Ghana, 193 had arrived last week and all but one of the 27 recruited from Sri Lanka were in by Wednesday.

The spokesman said the commission did not visit Ghana and Sri Lanka. Teachers from there applied on their own.

Last month acting secretary of the Teaching Service Commission Cde Ferdinand Lwenje announced that the commission had launched a recruitment drive for secondary school teachers following an exodus of teachers to neighbouring countries.

The Zambia National Union of Teachers (ZNUT) condemned the recruitment of teachers from abroad saying that was not the solution to the problem of the shortage of teachers.

The unionists instead suggested improving the working conditions for local teachers to stem the flight of qualified teachers to neighbouring countries.

Last year the commission recruited 207 out of the required 232 expatriate teachers.

A lot of Zambian teachers have left for Botswana, Swaziland and some bantustans in South Africa.

Meanwhile, eight Zambian teachers yesterday left for Australia for refresher courses in mathematics and science: the subjects that are mostly short of teachers.

ZCCM director of human resources Cde Maxwell Sichula urged the teachers that when they returned the teachers should accept taking appointments in rural areas which were the worst hit by the shortage of mathematics and science teachers.

He said if they returned and took up other jobs the purpose of sending them abroad would have been defeated.

ZCCM had joined hands with the commission in sponsoring the teachers to Australia.

"We need to lay a good foundation to solve the problem of shortage of teachers," Cde Jennifer Chiwela, chairman of the commission said.

Two groups of teachers left for Australia. Five are from the Teaching Service Commission who would take a diploma course for two years at Canberrain and Hoffen Institute of Technology in Melbourne.

ZCCM however, has sent three of its teachers from Mpelembe secondary school to pursue masters degrees at Elbeourne university.

#### **\* Iran Urges Permanent Commission Established**

34000411B Lusaka *TIMES OF ZAMBIA* in English  
21 Feb 90 p 2

[Text] Iranian foreign affairs minister Dr Ali Akbar Velayati has called for the establishment of a joint permanent commission between Zambia and Iran at ministerial level to strengthen bilateral ties.

According to a dispatch from the Iranian embassy in Lusaka yesterday, Dr Velayati was speaking when he met National Assembly speaker Cde Fwanyanga Mulikita in Tehran.

Dr Velayati also expressed happiness at the election of Cde Sam Nujoma as first president of independent Namibia saying that the election was a victory for freedom fighters especially supporters of SWAPO [South-West African People Organization] like Zambia and Iran.

He said Iran, as Zambia supported the struggle against apartheid and that the relationship between the two countries was strengthening.

The minister also appealed to the international community to urge Iraq to accept the United Nations Security Council resolution 598 which calls for a peaceful settlement of the Gulf conflict.

Iran has already accepted the resolution but Iraq is still resisting.

Cde Mulikita said although he was happy with the release of Cde Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners in South Africa and the election of Cde Sam Nujoma, these developments were not enough. Apartheid needed to be completely eliminated.

He also said that the Islamic revolution has had a positive effect on the oppressed people of the Southern African region and he hoped Iran would continue to support the struggle against apartheid.

Cde Mulikita and his four-man delegation wound up their five-day visit to Iran yesterday. The Speaker said the trip consolidated ties between the two countries and he hoped that his counterpart Mr Karobi would pay a reciprocal visit to Zambia.

#### **\* Fighting Swells Influx of Mozambican Refugees**

34000412B Lusaka *TIMES OF ZAMBIA* in English  
23 Feb 90 p 1

[Text] Secretary of State for Defence and Security Cde Alex Shapi said yesterday the influx of refugees into the country has heightened with intensified fighting between Government and insurgent forces in Mozambique.

He said the number of Mozambican refugees had swelled to 528 and more were fleeing to Luangwa valley because of the war against the Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] in northern Mozambique.

There was need for the United Nations high commissioner for refugees to attend to the displaced persons, he said.

But he said the bus which exploded in Luangwa blowing a man to pieces could have gone over an old landmine possibly left over from the several landmines planted at the peak of the liberation war in then Southern Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe.

"This however is subject to confirmation," he said.

Since the MNR [Mozambique National Resistance] bandits took to the bush to wage a futile war against the



legitimate government of Mozambique, some villagers in the Luangwa and Petauke districts have been abducted and killed.

#### \* Iran Plans Flights, Offers Scholarships

34000412C Lusaka *TIMES OF ZAMBIA* in English  
8 Feb 90 p 4

[Text] Iran is planning to open air links with Zambia in a bid to increase the volume of trade between the two countries, Iranian ambassador to Zambia Cde Mohsen Pakaein said here.

Cde Pakaein said Iranian Airways would start flying to Zambia once arrangements currently underway are finalised.

The Iranian envoy said the background of trade between the two countries was bright but complained that the present transport arrangements where goods have passed through other countries using different airlines was costly and made exports costly.

Cde Pakaein said the mechanism of trade between the two countries would be worked out when the Zambia-Iran joint permanent commission is appointed.

He said since his country opened full diplomatic ties with Zambia two years ago, there was need for the two countries to know each other better before they can explore areas of cooperation.

"However I must say the background of trade between the two countries is bright but our only problem would be how to transport the goods and ensure that they reached their destination early," he said.

Cde Pakaein also disclosed that Iran had offered scholarships to Zambia in various fields.

He said his government had offered Zambia 20 places for training in the technical field, 10 for doctors in combating malaria and five in different other fields.

Iran celebrates here 11th anniversary of the Islamic revolution on Monday February 12, 1990 and Cde Pakaein pledged that his country would continue supporting the oppressed people of the world.

#### \* Japan Gives Lab Equipment; Fuel Project Cited

34000412A Lusaka *TIMES OF ZAMBIA* in English  
23 Feb 90 p 1

[Text] Prime Minister Gen Malimba Masheke has challenged leading parastatals in Zambia to provide financial support in the research for better fuel conservation. Gen Masheke issued the challenge in Lusaka yesterday after receiving laboratory equipment worth \$300,000 from the Japanese government for the National Council for Scientific Research (NCSR). Maamba Collieries, ZCCM [Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines] and Zimco [Zambia Industrial and Mining Corporation] should emulate the department of energy in providing financial

support to the coal briquet and clay stove development project, he said. The project is based on the development of low cost type fuel for household consumption and a stove for its use. Some of the laboratory equipment received were a carbonisation furnace, vibrating sieve, roll crusher and testing instruments. Cde Masheke thanked the Japanese government for the donation and said it would lead to positive contribution to Zambia's development efforts in the energy sector, especially for the low-income communities.

Zambia's traditional energy source has been charcoal and fuelwood but the present rate of deforestation in urban and rural districts caused concern about what would remain of the forest reserves in future. Deforestation had the negative effects of pushing up the cost of fuel and increasing the run-off of rain water, adversely affecting the rate of groundwater recharge. Zambia has vast coal reserves and the reserves in the mid-Zambezi valley were estimated at 140-250 million tonnes and 35 million tonnes at Maamba. The Party and its Government has continued to encourage the NCSR to consolidate its research or production of coal briquets and clay stove to maximise the contribution of Maamba Collieries to the domestic fuel needs. Research had shown the conventional metal brazier (mbaula) was thermally inefficient and unsafe unlike the clay brazier currently being researched on at the NCSR. The clay stove was 96 percent more efficient than the "mbaula". It required less charcoal for the same cooking and were easier to make.

Japanese ambassador to Zambia Mr Toshio Saiki who presented the equipment said the project of briquet development research started in 1980 and was still on with the cooperation of two experts and two volunteers from Japan. The project was not a mere academic research project but a response to a practical task of securing low-cost fuel and was thus directly connected to the livelihood of the people. The project would contribute to the conservation of natural resources as well as environmental preservation. The Japanese government was considering the possibility of providing additional equipment for the development of briquets.

#### \* India To Train Journalists, Give Equipment

34000414A Lusaka *TIMES OF ZAMBIA* in English  
6 Feb 90 p 7

[Text] The Indian government has pledged to train journalists from Zambia News Agency (Zana) immediately a comprehensive training requirement report is presented.

This came to light during the presentation of 20 new manual typewriters, two new colour television sets and four new radio monitoring sets to Zana by the Indian government at Mass Media Complex yesterday.

Making the donation on behalf of the Indian government, Indian high commissioner to Zambia Cde Satnamjit Singh said India fully recognised the importance to Zana since Zambia played a key role in the liberation struggle in Southern Africa.

He said the donation was supplied under the African fund programme to assist Zana strengthen its capacity.

Receiving the equipment from India, Minister of information and Broadcasting Services Cde Arnold Simuchimba said Zambia needed a news agency that was able to reach news spots promptly.

He assured the high commissioner that Zana would put to maximum use and care all the equipment donated and that he would personally take severe disciplinary measures against any person reported to misuse the items.

He directed Zana to provide India with the urgent training requirements without delay. "A news agency cannot run effectively without an adequate complement of trained manpower, no matter how sophisticated it may be equipped," said Cde Simuchimba.

He also appealed to other friendly governments and sympathetic international organisations to avail more assistance to Zana and other mass media organisations in form of equipment.

Also included in the package are seven passenger vehicles for field duties which were on their way to Zambia from India.

Earlier, the Indian government donated components for 100 wagons to Zambia Railways which are currently being assembled in Kabwe.

**\* Apathy Registered in Kitwe Voter Drive**

34000415B Lusaka *TIMES OF ZAMBIA* in English  
5 Mar 90 p 7

[Text] Nearly all registration centres in Kitwe were deserted as apathy continues to mar the exercise which has since been extended to March 15.

Except for Buchi where a registration officer was virtually on holiday, other places were a total disaster as no officials or would-be voters were in sight.

A snap survey by a *TIMES* reporter to registration centres such as Chawama and Mutende primary schools and Bulangililo found the places deserted.

The situation was the same in Wusakili, Chamboli, Mindolo-Miseshe townships.

Party Secretary-General Cde Grey Zulu has since warned of possible disciplinary action against UNIP [United National Independence Party] members who did not register for elections.

Cde Zulu disclosed that the electoral commission had been asked to extend the registration period because of general apathy.

"All those eligible citizens who have not yet registered should do so now. They should realise that they are denying themselves an opportunity to exercise their freedom and rights" the Party chief said.

Meanwhile, Party officials in Mazabuka who had kept more than K59,000 from card sales and receipt renewals for six years without handing it to appropriate authorities have responded to the two-week ultimatum issued by district political secretary Cde Louis Manje.

Cde Manje confirmed in Livingstone yesterday, that following his two-week ultimatum to the Party officials concerned to hand in the money or face disciplinary action, most of them responded.

Those that had not yet responded were mainly from rural areas because they did not know of the deadline.

Cde Manje was alarmed by a report from the Party accountant that K12,000 and K24,000 from receipts and Party cards renewals respectively was still lying in different wards since 1984.

He directed that the money or the receipts and cards be taken to his office within two weeks, a period that has since expired.

Cde Manje who is new in the post said a lot of records pertaining to the cards and receipts were in a mess.

"There is a mix-up in the records as it was not clear which numbers stood for what and they need to be reorganised extensively," Cde Manje said.

**\* Inflation Demoralizes Workers, Incentive Vital**

34000415C Lusaka *TIMES OF ZAMBIA* in English  
5 Mar 90 p 1

[Editorial]

[Text] The ever present spectre of price increase haunting Zambians is a phenomenon that needs to be critically examined by our economic planners and the entire political leadership.

It would appear consumers are being squeezed against the wall by the skyrocketing prices. Virtually every commodity one can think of including the very basics which are essential for survival, are now unaffordable except for the subsidised mealie meal.

The pertinent question is: Will Zambian workers ever have any respite at all? Are all the increases really justified? If not, are there any visible attempts to check the greedy tendencies of some people which have made life a nightmare in Zambia?

Unless we can answer these questions candidly, there is little hope for economic recovery in our country. For,

how can we talk about boosting productivity when three quarters of the workforce is hungry—not because the food is unavailable but simply because it's out of reach?

And that is not all—a majority of the workers are fatigued even before they reach their offices or factories because they have to cover many km on foot since they cannot afford the high transport costs, save for the privileged few who ride in company buses.

Our sick economy needs a highly motivated workforce to give it a new lease of life. What is happening at present is the reverse. Economic planners are demotivating the workers—the very people who should serve as vital props in the restructuring process.

The steep increase in the price of fuel will exacerbate further the hardships that the average Zambian worker is faced with. Transport charges as well as prices of food are likely to shoot up to levels that few can afford.

It's imperative that authorities take a hard look at the whole economic scenario to determine whether all the measures taken so far augur well for economic recovery.

The forthcoming National Convention could use its wider representation to scrutinise the policies already in place to ensure Zambia does not veer off course as she seeks a way out of the present economic quagmire.

Random price hikes which seem to be the order of the day are not the panacea to our economic ills. The ordinary worker is the most precious resource at our disposal. He needs to be motivated to work harder so that we could double, or even treble, production in all factories.

If the Prices and Incomes Commission is so impotent it cannot halt the current exploitative trends, it should be scrapped.

#### **\* Business Community Briefing Vital Before Change**

34000413B Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English  
22 Feb 90 p 1

[Text] Former Bank of Zambia general manager Cde Michael Mwape has said that the introduction of a dual exchange rate system is a desperate measure which would take Zambia nowhere and urged the authorities to look into other means of correcting the economic situation.

Speaking on Good Morning Zambia programme yesterday Cde Mwape said the system was a non-starter which would not succeed unless full research had been made adding that there were not enough funds to sustain the two windows.

He said the system which was effected to promote the growth of non-traditional exports, attract foreign investment, encourage donor balance of payments support and

reduce illegal dealings in foreign exchange, had proved to be a non-starter in other countries.

Cde Mwape explained that it would entail an official exchange rate and a market exchange rate based on K26 and K40 to one US dollar respectively adding that under the official rate window the Bank of Zambia would buy foreign exchange emanating from all traditional export earnings of the mining sector.

All foreign currency remittances received by foreign embassies, and diplomatic missions or offices of international organizations and agencies and on-government organizations funded from overseas sources would go to the official rate window, he added.

He said under the market rate window, foreign exchange would be surrendered to the Bank of Zambia at market rate if it came from non-traditional (non-metal) export receipts and foreign exchange earnings from tourist establishments eligible for the retention facility under the export retention scheme, and anyone else wishing to sell forex on a no questions asked basis.

He said non-traditional exporters would be allowed to apply for forex at any of the two windows only after they had exhausted their retentions.

Cde Mwape said the Kwacha remained pegged to the special drawing rights (SDRs) and the Bank of Zambia would continue to determine official exchange rates for different foreign currencies with reference to the prevailing SDR/Kwacha rate.

He said a tendency might arise where people will buy forex from one window and sell it at the next one, adding that the windows were only open to those whose applications had been accepted by FEMAC—Zana.

#### **\* New Dual Exchange Rate To Boost Exports**

34000413A Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English  
14 Feb 90 p 1

[Text] The Bank of Zambia has introduced a dual exchange rate system with effect from next Monday which entails having an official exchange rate and a market exchange rate based on K40 to one US dollar.

Central Bank governor Mr Jacques Bussieres announced in Lusaka yesterday the Kwacha remained pegged to the special drawing rights (SDR) and the Bank of Zambia will continue to determine official exchange rates for different foreign currencies with reference to the prevailing SDR/Kwacha rate.

The dual exchange rate system was being effected to promote the growth of non-traditional exports, attract private foreign investment, encourage donor balance of payments support and reduce unauthorized dealings in foreign exchange.



The system effective from February 19 would entail Central Bank selling foreign exchange at the official rate under the existing Femac procedure for imports into Zambia.

Outlining guidelines for the administration of the new system, the governor said under the "official rate window", the Central Bank would buy foreign exchange accruing or emanating from all traditional export earnings of the mining sector (ZCCM), all foreign currency inward remittances received by foreign embassies and diplomatic missions or offices of international organizations and agencies and by non-government organizations funded from overseas sources.

The Bank would also buy foreign exchange inflows from other external sources except those feeding the "market rate window."

Foreign exchange would be sold by the Central Bank from the first window at the ruling official rate through Femac for imports into Zambia with documentation and other requirements presently in force, with provision for monies allocated for other purposes.

"Non-traditional exporters will be allowed to apply for foreign exchange at any of the two windows only after they have exhausted their retentions."

Under the "market rate window" foreign exchange would be surrendered to the Bank of Zambia at market rate if it came from non-traditional (non-metal) export receipts and foreign exchange earnings from tourist establishments eligible for the retention facility under the export retention scheme.

This also included foreign exchange from foreign private investment, donor balance of payments support, except project support to which the official exchange rate would apply and tourists and anyone else wishing to sell foreign exchange on a "no questions asked" basis.

Mr Bussieres also announced that non-resident Zambians working and living abroad as well as resident Zambians working for international organizations receiving their salary, fees, commission and other emoluments in foreign exchange "will be allowed to maintain foreign currency accounts with commercial banks in Zambia".

Applications for allocation of foreign exchange at the market rate and issue of import licenses should be made through commercial banks.

#### \* Truckers, Commuters Hard Hit by Fuel Rise

34000414B Lusaka *TIMES OF ZAMBIA* in English  
5 Mar 90 p 5

[Text] Confusion reigned throughout the country yesterday as motorists and commuters alike were caught unawares by the increase in fuel prices and chairman of the Truckers Association of Zambia (TAZ) Charles

Madondo announced that his members might demand an increase of up to 150 percent in rates.

In Lusaka, pirate taxis hiked fares on all routes while UTTA members said they would press for an increase.

In Kitwe motorists and some people expressed indignation over the newly announced petrol prices while in Lusaka their colleagues spent the morning shuttling from one filling station to another in search of stations that had adjusted their pump metres.

By 09.00 hours some filling stations had not started selling fuel because their pump metres had not been adjusted to the new prices.

Zimco [Zambia Industrial and Mining Corporation] announced the increase in fuel prices which were effected on Saturday midnight increasing the price of premium petrol in Lusaka from K8.46 to K11.50 a litre and regular petrol from K7.42 to K9.82 a litre.

The price of domestic kerosene has gone up from K4.85 a litre while that of diesel had shot up from K5.10 to K6.70 a litre.

The whole sale price of all other petroleum products have been increased by 30 percent.

Kitwe motorists at filling stations were heard complaining bitterly over the new prices saying driving in Zambia would be the preserve of the rich and leaders in the Party, Government and parastatals.

"Where are we heading to? Only those drawing either Government or company fuel will now afford to drive around. Life will become difficult," one man said.

At the KMB bus station minibus crews complained and accused the Government of trying to finish their business.

"Even at K30 on intertown routes it is difficult to get passengers and the situation will get worse if we adjust our fares to take into account the new fuel prices.

"Some of us are being forced to charge the old K20 fare because of the slump in business," one driver who requested anonymity said.

Their colleagues at the Lusaka inter-city bus terminal predicted a further slump in business after the last fare increase that cost them their clientele.

"There will be fewer people using public transport when we increase the fares because of the increase in the price of fuel.

Pirate taxis have increased the fare between town and Kabulonga from K20 to K30 and some were demanding K20 instead of K15 from town and Matero.

TAX chairman Madondo said in an interview yesterday his association would review the rates which in some cases would go up by more than 150 percent.

He said TAZ was still using the rates gazetted in June last year which had since been overtaken by the economic situation.

Following the increase TAZ, would carry out a thorough costing of truckers' operations to come up with figures which were profitable under the present economic climate.

In the tourist town, several motorists, including international tourists, were stranded as filling stations remained closed following the announcement of new fuel prices.

Most cars in Livingstone remained parked at homes and offices.

Commuters were hard hit by the move as taxis and minibuses parked until later after midday.

Traffic in town which was usually brisk on Sundays as residents drove to churches was absent.

#### \* Third Airline Fare Increase in One Month

34000414C Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English  
26 Feb 90 p 1

[Excerpt] Airlines operating in Zambia have increased fares on all international routes for the third time in less than a month as the official exchange rate of the Kwacha fell from K25.80 to K27.80 to one U.S. dollar.

Earlier this month fares on all international routes were increased when the Kwacha fell from K23.60 to K25.80 to one U.S. dollar.

Last week the Bank of Zambia effected a dual exchange rate system with the market rate pegged at K40 to one U.S. dollar and the official rate fixed at K25 to one U.S. dollar.

The fall in the rate of the Kwacha against the dollar has been greeted with dismay in the airline community. They fear they will incur losses because of the wide disparity between the rate of selling and the rate for remitting surplus funds.

Board of Airlines (BAR) chairman Mr Peter Matumula expressed these sentiments when he said BAR planned to meet the Central Bank management to sort out the issue.

BAR also expressed concern at the rates for which their air crews will be charged by the hotels in the country.

This is the third time the airlines are increasing their air fares, the first increment was in January when the Kwacha fell from K21.10 to K23.60 against the dollars. [passage omitted]

#### \* Price Rise Anticipated With New Import Duties

34000413C Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English  
20 Feb 90 p 1

[Article by Peter Soko]

[Text] All import duty and sales tax will be calculated on the value of goods at the rate of K40 to one United States dollar with immediate effect, it was learnt in Lusaka yesterday.

It was feared the new Government measure which is a result of the introduction of the two-tier exchange rate system would lead to sharp price increases on imported goods.

And the Bank of Zambia (BOZ) has amended the regulations on the exchange system in which funds received for foreign embassies and charitable organizations would now go through the "second window" at K40 to one US dollar.

This came to light during a survey conducted to find out the impact of the newly introduced system announced by BOZ governor Mr Jacques Bussieres last week and which came into effect yesterday.

Several commercial banks reported having received inquiries from customers who wanted to know how the new system would work.

Clients were briefed on the new procedure.

Standard Chartered Bank (Zambia) managing director Mr Christopher Green said while he had welcomed the two-tier system he was dismayed by the department of Customs and Excise's new measures.

The department said from February 19, import duty and sales tax would be calculated from the value of goods at the rate of K40 to one US dollar, Mr Green said.

"This can only cause prices to rise unnecessarily and therefore, the re-introduction of an inflationary trend when Government efforts were just beginning to show that inflation had slowed down," Mr Green said.

He recalled that the inflation rate in Zambia from December last year was falling at two per cent a month.

Mr Green said that at the moment the list of goods required to go through the second window was small which meant that the bulk of goods would come through Femac at the official exchange rate of K25 to one US dollar.

Barclays Bank of Zambia managing director Mr Peter Ford said he had received the BOZ circular explaining a few adjustments on the new exchange rate system but declined to give details.

A BOZ spokesman promised to issue a statement today.

Chairman of the Bankers Association of Zambia (BAZ) Cde Friday Ndhlovu, whose organization represents the interests of commercial banks could neither deny or confirm receipt of the BOZ circular on the amended two-tier system.

He said it was too early to know the impact of the new exchange rate system.

**\* Duties, Taxes on Essential Goods To Be Cut**

34000411C Lusaka *TIMES OF ZAMBIA* in English  
21 Feb 90 p 1

[Text] The Party and its Government is taking measures to reduce the import duties and import sales tax on some essential goods like raw materials for making edible oils, soaps and detergents.

The measures are intended to ease the impact of the new exchange rate system on the value for customs duty purposes which is now calculated at K40 to \$1 for all imports.

This was announced in Lusaka yesterday by Minister of Finance and Planning, Cde Gibson Chigaga who spelt out other measures designed to attract new investment to stimulate production for export and the local market.

In a statement issued yesterday, Cde Chigaga confirmed the introduction of the K40 to one US dollar import duty and import sales tax on all goods coming in the country.

But he said raw materials for making essential goods would be levied at a reduced rate.

The lower rate is yet to be announced.

"To lessen the impact of the new exchange rate on the value for customs duty purposes which is now calculated at K40 to one US dollar for all imports, certain additional measures are being taken to reduce the import duties and import sales tax on some essential goods," he said.

Cde Chigaga said measures had been taken to provide full exemption of import duties and import sales tax on plant, machinery, equipment, spare parts or accessories for use in manufacturing, agriculture, cargo transportation and in the tourism sector when imported by persons or organisations using their own foreign exchange.

Manufacturers who export at least 25 percent of their gross output would also benefit from the full duty and sales tax concessions on plant, machinery, equipment, parts and accessories.

The minister pledged the commitment of the Party and its Government in its continuing efforts to restructure and diversify the economy.

He said legislation had been drafted which would reduce the import duty and import sales tax on many types of industrial manufacturing machinery down to an aggregate level of 10 percent.

The reduction would apply to all importers. At present, and in most cases, the aggregate duty and sales tax was at the level of 37-and-a-half percent.

**\* 35.6 Percent of Population Illiterate**

34000415D Lusaka *TIMES OF ZAMBIA* in English  
13 Feb 90 p 1

[Text] The illiteracy rate in Zambia has remained high despite efforts being made by the Party and its Government in providing basic education, Party Secretary-General Cde Grey Zulu said yesterday.

Launching the international Literacy Year on both radio and television last night Cde Zulu said:

"Over one million adult persons in Zambia are illiterate."

The census of population and housing between 1964 and 198 showed the illiteracy rate dropped from 67 percent to 41.2 percent for the 15-year age group and above.

The same census indicated that 35.6 percent of the population aged 15 years and above comprising 24 percent females and 11.6 percent males had never attended school.

Cde Zulu said the observance of 1990 as the International Literacy Year should be national, cutting across various sectors and disciplines.

"The Government, parastatal and private sectors, voluntary and non-governmental organisations should all work together in order to achieve our national goal," he said.

He attributed the high illiteracy rate to inadequate funding for literacy programmes and activities, lack of literacy materials like literature, inadequate training and lack of motivation among instructors.

Cde Zulu appealed to agencies already involved in basic education and adult literacy to provide the required leadership in the planning and implementations of appropriate literacy year programmes.

The mass media had a major role in creating awareness, disseminating information and publicising various literacy activities.

Cde Zulu also received a book titled *Book Voyage* from the chairman of the national coordinating committee Cde Margaret Machila on the experiences of the illiterate, which he later handed over to Minister of Labour, Social Development and Culture Cde Lavu Mulimba.

**Zimbabwe**

**President's Choice of New Ministers Examined**

MB1204160690 Johannesburg *THE STAR* in English  
12 Apr 90 p 11

[By Robin Drew]

[Text] Harare—When the party's over, you go home, said Mr Denis Norman five years ago when President



Robert Mugabe dropped him from the government, where he had been a successful Minister of Agriculture.

He was not re-appointed after the 1985 general election because Mr Mugabe was furious with whites, particularly farmers, for voting for Ian Smith's Conservative Alliance in the election for white seats.

Indeed, Mr Mugabe told his outgoing Minister that the farmers did not appear to appreciate what had been done for them.

Since then the white seats have disappeared. Now the party's on again and Mr Norman is back in the Cabinet, one of three whites chosen for full ministerial rank in the new administration.

It is an appointment which will give heart to many, for his cheerful "look on the bright side" approach is infectious.

This time the 59-year-old farmer-businessman has been given the portfolio of transport, a sector of the economy which at times has degenerated into chaos with delays in supplies of essential commodities.

It is an area in which his experience as chairman of the Beira Corridor Group should prove invaluable.

In Mr Mugabe's first government, his choice of Mr Norman as Minister of Agriculture was regarded as a master stroke. By bringing him back, Mr Mugabe may again have hit on the right choice to maintain confidence in the business sector where growth is essential to fight unemployment.

At the first meeting of the new Parliament of 150 members in the single chamber National Assembly, there were two other white faces on the front benches.

Mr Chris Andersen was back, this time as Minister of Mines instead of the Public Service. Joining him in his first appearance in Parliament was a Harare medical practitioner, Dr Timothy Stamps, the new Minister of Health.

Mr Andersen, a former Rhodesian Minister, led a walkout from Mr Smith's party in 1982 and was rewarded with a Cabinet post.

Like Mr Norman, the new Minister of Mines has stayed clear of black party politics. Neither is a member of the ruling party, and neither stood for election. They were put into Parliament by Mr Mugabe who, as President, can nominate 12 members to ensure that MPs represent a cross-section of the whole community.

Mr Andersen has maintained his independent stand and is accepted as a pragmatic man who has something to contribute and is willing to do so.

Dr Stamps, on the other hand, is a member of ZANU (PF) [Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front], though he too was appointed to Parliament by the President.

A city councillor and former Medical Officer of Health in Harare the British-born doctor is likely to take a far more vigorous line in tackling AIDS, a disease which many fear could prove catastrophic for Zimbabwe.

His predecessor in charge of the Ministry of Health, Brigadier Felix Muchemwa, an army doctor, has been demoted to look after the proposed National Service scheme in the Ministry of Political Affairs.

The appointment of Mr Norman, Mr Andersen and Dr Stamps to the Cabinet is further evidence of President Mugabe's pragmatic stance, despite the rhetoric evident in the election campaign.

But what has puzzled observers about the Cabinet lineup is the choice of Dr Witness Mangwende as Minister of Lands, Agriculture and Rural Resettlement. This is a key appointment as agriculture is still the backbone of the economy.

Dr Mangwende did not distinguish himself as Minister of Foreign Affairs when he seemed to distance himself from the Diplomatic Corps. He took a similar remote position when he became Information Minister.

It is difficult to see him striking a warm relationship with the country's 4,400 white farmers who have been repeatedly warned they will have to give up more of their land for resettlement.

#### **Mugabe's Decade of Accomplishments, Failures Noted**

*MB1204160090 Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY  
in English 12 Apr 90 p 9*

[By Michael Hartnack]

[Text] Harare—With the advent on April 18 of the 10th anniversary of Zimbabwean independence it is tempting to make a list of the major prophecies that did not come true.

Although 60 percent of the 280 000 whites emigrated, the remainder were not, in the words of Eddison Zvobgo (nor Public Service Minister) "led up the garden path to the place of slaughter".

Robert Mugabe's new government did not slavishly nationalise every hectare of land and every business enterprise in pursuit of the longed-for "socialist transformation".

The ANC's [African National Congress] Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation, military wing] and the PAC's [Pan-Africanist Congress] Azanian People's Liberation Army were not given bases at Beitbridge from which to attack the Transvaal.

Against just these three negatives, the creditable "plus" side of the past 10 years seems pretty tame.

The number of children in school increased from 800,000 to 2.8-million.

By 1988 the infant mortality rate had been reduced from 140 to 73 per thousand.

A vicious war in Matabeleland was stopped almost overnight by a unity pact between Mugabe and ZAPU [Zimbabwe African People's Union] leader Joshua Nkomo.

Mugabe did not foresee that, like the Afrikaner Nationalists three decades before, he would not be able to implement cherished dogma.

He found out (partly from observing Mozambique's ruin) that Zimbabwe simply cannot support its rising 10-million people, their numbers growing by an inexorable 3 percent a year, without maintaining a complex relationship with the West.

It is significant in view of this lesson that Zimbabwe remains at the forefront of the campaign to cut off SA's [South Africa] relationship with the developed world, urging a policy of international isolation in all spheres.

While Gerald Smith, leader of the Conservative Alliance [formerly Ian Smith's Rhodesian Front] warns the remaining whites against the commonly held belief that Mugabe's Marxist-Leninism is now largely talk, university lecturer Kempton Makumbe complains for the same reason. "In Zimbabwe it is still better to be white than black," raged the wartime supporter of Mugabe's party, who was detained last year for his unrepentant radicalism.

"Through the twin weapons of suppression and corruption, Zimbabwe is losing its intellectual and scientific base," he wrote in a recent magazine article.

Veteran white liberal Judy Todd, on the other hand, said: "I personally do not think we could have had a better president than Mugabe has proved to be."

Yet even she castigated Mugabe for his refusal to extend amnesty to 200 former ZAPU supporters gaoled for supporting dissidents during the 1980-87 Matabeleland troubles.

With unparalleled outspokenness Todd criticised the rising influence of Mugabe's Ghanaian-born wife Sally, last year appointed to the politburo as Secretary for Women's Affairs without a Women's League election.

"He himself seems one of the few Zimbabweans untroubled by his wife's unimpeded ascent up the ladder of power which holds perils for him, for Mrs Mugabe herself, and for the rest of us," she said.

Such remarks never find their way into Zimbabwe's slavishly pro-government news media which the late Willie Musarurwa, first black editor of the SUNDAY MAIL, said had been reduced since the 1980 foundation of the Mass Media Trust to "a typically Zimbabwean brand of insipid journalism which regards the speech and not the even as the quintessence of news".

Musarurwa, who died suddenly on April 5, had said that his own sacking in 1985 had a highly intimidatory effect on all editors and reporters, and the Ministry of Information now insisted on total conformity, fostered by regular briefings.

Musarurwa's successor at the SUNDAY MAIL, Henry Muradzikwa, had an even briefer and more inglorious career, being fired by Mugabe for reporting Cuba's forced repatriation of Zimbabwean students suffering from AIDS.

It is largely because of this official reluctance to confront national problems openly that it is difficult to make predictions about the next 10 years.

The AIDS crisis, which some experts say could claim the lives of more than half Zimbabwe's people by 2002, has been deliberately downplayed on the orders of outgoing Health Minister Brig Felix Muchemwa. The new incumbent, outspoken Welsh general practitioner Dr Timothy Stamps, has a lot of ground to make up before Zimbabwe can be confident it will not suffer a holocaust.

While the news media create a relatively rosy picture, thousands of railway wagons have been stranded in a grossly inefficient national transport system, denying tobacco farmers coal to cure their vital forex [foreign exchange]-earning crop. Again, pessimism caused by past failure to face up to management problems is balanced by optimism at the recent appointment as Transport Minister of Denis Norman, founder chairman of the Beira Corridor Group and former Agriculture Minister.

The most articulate black critic of current political developments in Zimbabwe is political science lecturer Jonathan Moyo. He is alarmed by Mugabe's talks of a one-party state more for its impact on an economy burdened with a million unemployed than its abstract ideological implications.

Again the paradox: Mugabe says a multi-party system is a recipe for national disaster and promises to introduce a one party state "with a clear conscience", yet the news media are mysteriously banned from reporting this, indicating a serious difference of opinion inside the politburo.

Former Rhodesian prime minister Ian Smith is not noted for the accuracy of his predictions but he may have some grounds for refusing to take seriously Mugabe's pledge to nationalise wide areas currently held by Zimbabwe's 4,400 commercial farmers for the resettlement of peasants.

Smith notes that a million of the 4-million ha [hectare] bought by the government since 1980 remain unsettled because of a lack of official expertise and infrastructure. Mugabe, he believes, has too much sense to destroy the agriculture industry that earns R1.5bn [1.5 billion rand] forex each year.

In the final analysis, however, Zimbabwe's next 10 years are likely to be shaped less by its ambivalent internal policies than by the course of events in SA.

### \* Tekere Charges Government Misuse of Power

34000127E Harare THE FINANCIAL GAZETTE  
in English 9 Feb 90 p 3

[Text] The Zimbabwe Unity Movement leader Edgar Tekere, charging that the Zanu (PF) [Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front] led government was frustrating other political parties, has criticised the ruling party for alleged misuse of state agencies, property and finances.

Mr Tekere was presenting a motion in Parliament which expressed concern that the government had demonstrated "an apparent determination to frustrate political parties (other than its own Zanu (PF) in their efforts to propagate their views among the people, that it unlawfully used state agencies for the party," and that "it was coercing people away from registering as votes."

In particular, Mr Tekere charged that Zanu (PF) was using the Central Intelligence Agency to further its interests.

"There is one major concern of the use of state institutions and that is the use of the CIO. You hear it all over the country. I do not know why you (Zanu PF) have to use the CIO," he said.

Mr Tekere claimed that last year in September a member of the CIO walked into Chipinge Hotel where six school teachers were discussing a newspaper article in which ZUM [Zimbabwe Unity Movement] was mentioned. The CIO men threatened to "lock them up", he alleged.

He further alleged that the CIO were intimidating farm workers against joining ZUM and that lots of supporters were being jailed. "If you are not Zanu (PF) you get locked up for a while as long as the State of Emergency allows."

He wondered whether the general elections would be fair under such circumstances.

Mr Tekere further alleged that ZUM was being barred from holding political rallies for no apparent reason. Rallies planned for Chitungwiza in June and July were refused by police "and no reason was given", whilst applications for rallies in Mutare met with a similar response. In Marondera, in late September, ZUM was told that "the meeting has not been approved by the Minister of Home Affairs."

When ZUM applied to hold a meeting in Bindura, in October, it was informed that this was impossible because "the public gathering is in the open" and "there is not sufficient police manpower to cover the public gathering."

Mr Tekere's motion fell away after several Members of Parliament walked out of the House of Assembly, leaving it without a quorum. The only MP [Member of Parliament]s who remained in the House were Minister Andersen, Ms Fay Chung, Mr S. Malunga, Mr M. Malianga, Mr A. Mudzingwa, Mr F. [as printed], Mr G. Shithole and Ms D. Taunton.

### \* Minister Refutes 'Free Bargaining' Report

34000127F Harare THE FINANCIAL GAZETTE  
in English 9 Feb 90 p 1

[Text] Government has definitely not given the go-ahead for free collective bargaining, and will announce parameters for 1990 wage and salary negotiations once the Incomes and Price Board has submitted its assessment of the country's economic performance, and advising on what increased levels can be granted without adversely affecting the economy.

Mr Nkomo was this week incorrectly reported as saying that, with immediate effect, the government would allow free collective bargaining between workers and employers, with government only vetting, registering, and monitoring the agreements.

"We have not got free collective bargaining yet. Last year, we set parameters of between 5 percent and 15 percent, and that after exercise we did say that collective bargaining had come to stay, and that it was a continuous process.

"We also decided that collective bargaining should now cover other areas of employment over and above wages and salaries, to include areas such as conditions of employment and disciplinary codes.

"That therefore means that the present position is that negotiations between workers committees and employer organisations must be submitted to the ministry for vetting and approval. Bargaining on wages and salaries is still a subject of consultation with the Prices and Incomes Board," he said.

Minister Nkomo however said that it was government's intention to move towards free collective bargaining in the 1990s, adding that last year's exercise had proceeded satisfactorily, despite the fact that the exercise was undertaken in just one month. He said he hoped that more time would be given for the negotiations to take place this year.

On the question of manpower shortages in both the private and public sectors, Minister Nkomo said that Zimbabwe would have to continue to rely on expatriates for some time while indigenous skills are being developed.

He agreed with recent observations that the vast manpower resources within the country were being neglected in favour of expatriates, but was encouraged that over the last year the number of applications to recruit foreigners has reduced.



"This is an area we have been very concerned about, and we are trying to change the thinking that experience only comes from outside the country. This is more of racially-influenced thinking, and I say this because many people say we should allow more immigrants because they bring in skills. But many of these people may be chaff in their own countries, and we will not allow wholesale immigration of such people".

Minister Nkomo singled out the private sector as being the main champion of the recruitment of expatriates, as the expense of locally-available manpower resources.

But having said that, government continue to work with private sector organisations, including the professional institutes, to produce a manpower development programme giving priority to the shortage areas.

The Minister of Labour was also working with other government departments in on-going technical and vocational programmes. These partners include the ministries of Primary and Secondary Education, Higher Education, Local Government, the Public Service, and Agriculture.

#### \* Recommendations on Parastatals Issued

34000127B Harare THE HERALD in English  
7 Feb 90 p 1

[Text] The functions of five other parastatals should be merged with those of the Zimbabwe Development Corporation [ZDC] which should hold all the shares the Government owns in companies, recommends the Committee of Inquiry into the Administration of Parastatals.

The general report of the committee, chaired by Mr Justice Smith, was made available yesterday.

The committee found that there were great difficulties co-ordinating the work of the non-agricultural development parastatals, despite the setting up of the Zimbabwe Development Corporation which was supposed to play that role. No parastatal could serve both its minister and the ZDC and there was no machinery to solve disputes.

The committee recommended that the Industrial Development Corporation [IDC] and the ZDC be merged under the name of the ZDC and while the necessary changes were made to legislation both should have the same board of directors.

The operations of the Small Enterprises Development Corporation and the Zimbabwe Mining Development Corporation should be merged with those of the ZDC and their staff transferred to the ZDC. More capital should be made available to the ZDC to help small enterprises.

The Zimbabwe Tourist Development Corporation should be dissolved. Its functions of operating hotels and buses for tours should go to the ZDC; the ZDC should take over the shares of the Harare Sheraton and Harare Holiday Inn from the Ministry of Natural Resources and

Tourism; the ministry would take over the responsibility for promoting Zimbabwe as a tourist centre; and a Zimbabwe Tourist Development Board would handle the advisory functions.

The Urban Development Corporation should be disbanded and staff sent to the ZDC or back to the public service as appropriate. The ZDC would take over the old corporation's development functions, including the provision of financial and technical assistance, management counselling, training and other services. Planning would remain with the Department of Physical Planning and not go to the ZDC.

Unless there were special reasons all shares owned by the Government in any company should be held by the ZDC. Unless there were exceptional circumstances no other parastatal should be involved in joint ventures, operate subsidiaries or operate industrial projects.

The ZDC should convene regular meetings of all relevant parastatals to ensure development policies were co-ordinated and import substitution speeded up, although it should have no subsidiary parastatals. The ZDC should liaise with the Defence Procurement Board to see what defence equipment could be made in Zimbabwe.

Links should be set up between the ZDC and the Zimbabwe Development Bank, possibly by having some people as members of both boards. The bank should give greater emphasis to projects creating more jobs.

Project procedures should be streamlined and speeded up; a committee should be set up in the President's Office under the Vice-President to consider complaints about delays.

The committee agreed that the idea of having one body responsible for co-ordinating development was sound. There must be one body in charge of development projects. The IDC was 25 years old and the committee did not want to interfere with its efficiency but there were bound to be conflicts if it and the ZDC continued together.

The all-embracing policies of the Government and its socialist thrust meant that a parastatal with wider responsibility was needed and hence the recommendation to merge the two.

There was at present no coherent development policy in Zimbabwe with ministries and parastatals involved in development all going their own way in the direction they thought best, said the committee.

The Zimbabwe Institute of Development Studies had never operated in the way intended, and had been allowed to drift without direction from its board or parent ministry. It should be abolished, said the committee, and the staff should be transferred to the University of Zimbabwe, absorbed into the Public Service or discharged on the grounds of abolition of office. The university was better placed to do the needed research.

**\* Bill Provides Return of Powers to Chiefs**

34000127C Bulawayo *THE CHRONICLE* in English  
19 Jan 90 pp 1, 2

[Excerpt] Harare—Chiefs will be given back their powers to preside over community courts, if a Bill introduced in the House of Assembly yesterday is enacted.

The Minister of Justice, Legal and Parliamentary Affairs, Cde Emmerson Mnangagwa told the Assembly, that the Bill would repeal and replace the Customary Law and Primary Courts Act of 1981, changing the hierarchy of customary-law courts and the application of customary law in Zimbabwe.

"Among other things, it also gives some judicial role to our traditional chiefs," he said.

Under the Bill, village, community and district courts would be replaced by primary and community courts.

Headmen or other persons appointed by the Minister of Justice or by an officer designated by him would preside over primary courts and would try cases involving customary law, where the subject matter in dispute did not exceed \$500 in value.

Chiefs would preside over community courts and would have the power to try cases involving subject matter valued at up to \$1,000 and would also hear appeals from primary courts.

The minister said a person who was dissatisfied with a decision by the headman's court would take his case to the chief's court and if he or she was not satisfied could appeal to the magistrate's court.

The presiding officers of the present community courts would be regarded as assistant magistrates and be integrated into the magistrates' department, he said.

Arrangements were being made by his ministry for those who passed "certain examinations" to be regraded to become substantive magistrates.

The chiefs and headmen would be trained by his ministry for their new role, in seminars to be organised throughout the country.

Responding to questions raised during the second reading stage of the Bill, Cde Mnangagwa said the Government could not restore all the chiefs' powers.

He said chiefs could not be given back their power to allocate land, as it was a national issue, which, if left to the chiefs alone, could lead to wars among them as there was inadequate land for all. [passage omitted]

**\* MNR Attacks Cause Large Fuel Losses**

34000127A Harare *THE HERALD* in English  
2 Feb 90 p 1

[Excerpts] Zimbabwe lost almost 1.3 million litres of petrol and diesel fuel in three separate attacks on the

Beira Corridor pipeline by the South African-sponsored MNR [Mozambique National Resistance] bandits between January 13 and 16 this year.

According to a report released in Harare by the Southern Africa Research and Documentation Centre, the amount of fuel lost so far represents 47 percent of the total of 2,628 million litres lost in similar attacks for the whole of last year.

The first attack on the pipeline this year which happened on January 13 caused a 15-hour interruption in pumping and the loss of 380,000 litres of petrol. The second attack was on January 16 and it resulted in the loss of 567,910 litres of diesel fuel and interrupting operations for nearly 17 hours.

And within the next 24 hours the MNR sabotaged the pipeline again in another place, resulting in the loss of 300,000 litres of diesel fuel. This attack happened at night 159 km from Beira Port.

"The last attack brought total fuel losses during the first two weeks of the year to 1,261,465 litres or 47 percent of the total losses from sabotage during 1989.

"These attacks by the MNR on an obvious economic target are typical of the sabotage carried out since the organisation, created by Rhodesian intelligence in 1976, was inherited by South Africa in 1980 on the eve of Zimbabwe's independence, the report said.

**Lifeline**

Attacks on the pipeline, which is Zimbabwe's lifeline and which is owned by a British multinational corporation, Lonrho, began in 1981 when efforts were being made to resume pumping along the line.

Put against a background of recent incident related to energy supplies to both Zambia and Zimbabwe, the recent attacks on the Beira Corridor pipeline have intrigued regional analysts who have begun to notice a "cycle of coincidence." [passage omitted]

There were 33 MNR cross-border attacks on Zimbabwe between November and January in which 22 Zimbabweans were murdered, all but two of them being civilians. A further 25 were wounded, eight abducted and a large quantity of goods stolen.

The MNR also made several incursions into Zambia during the past few months and 12 civilians were killed, 10 wounded and one abducted.

Botswana has been subjected to bomb scare destabilisation tactics which resulted in productivity losses and the marshalling of bomb disposal experts at considerable costs. [passage omitted]

**\* Fuel Import Bill Expected To Almost Double**

34000127G Bulawayo THE CHRONICLE in English  
31 Jan 90 p 1

[Text] Harare—Zimbabwe's fuel import bill is expected to almost double this year to \$423.5 million from \$196.4 million last year because of high prices on the international market, the Minister of Energy and Water Resources and Development, Cde Kumbirai Kangai said here yesterday.

The expenditure of fuel is expected to be \$423,511,869 for this year. For last year, it was \$196,449,266 and \$189,509,490 for 1988. The addition of ethanol to petrol was saving the country more than \$7 million a year in foreign currency.

Cde Kangai said in an interview that the Mutare-Harare oil pipeline was expected to take 20 months to complete. "At the moment negotiations for project financing are in progress between the parties involved," he said.

The project was a joint venture between the Government represented by the National Oil Company of Zimbabwe and Lonrho. The company to operate the \$80 million pipeline, Petrozim Line (Pvt) Limited was registered last year.

The government was committed to build a new oil refinery in Mutare. Feasibility studies had been completed and construction would start when funds are available.

The Government was making every effort to implement integrated energy planning, pricing and conservation in the management of the energy sector.

"To boost these efforts the ministry has embarked on various projects and studies with the assistance of international donor agencies to identify potential impact on future energy conservation activities in the economy," the minister said.

A recent energy pricing study had recommended an appropriate long-term marginal cost pricing structure for coal and coke products, electricity, liquid fuels, including both imported petroleum products and locally produced ethanol as well as fuel wood and charcoal.

The ministry could ensure success of the programmes by undertaking proper planning procedures and control of energy utilisation through the establishment of a computerised data bank that would service the needs of the entire energy sector.

Securing the balance between future electricity supply and demand from the most economic and reliable sources was essential to the continued prosperity of the country. The Government had directed that the priority power generation resource be hydro or other renewable low-cost resource to preserve coal and also minimise generation costs.

Priority was given to least cost investment and affordable projects and imports would be limited to the reserve level unless there were energy and power shortages, in which case imports may exceed the reserve level.

One of the power supply options was the importation of hydro-power from Cabora Bassa in Mozambique. Studies were being made to identify ports required to feed the Zimbabwe national grid.

The minister said ZESA [Zimbabwe Electric Supply Authority] had opened discussions with its sister organisation in Mozambique.

**\* Uranium Potential Still Being Studied**

34000127D Harare THE HERALD in English  
21 Feb 90 p 1

[Excerpts] Sizeable deposits of uranium have been discovered in the Zambezi Valley and the explorers are developing cheaper production techniques to make a mining venture viable against low world market prices for the metal.

The resident manager of a West German company, Interuran, which has been exploring for the mineral over the past nine years, Mr Jean Rheiner, said yesterday in Harare that deposits of 2,000 to 3,000 tonnes had been discovered near Kanyemba and there were chances of discovering more.

However, he said, world market prices have gone down by nearly 80 percent in recent years. This meant that the Kanyemba prospect would not be developed as quickly as had been anticipated.

Most uranium is used in the generation of nuclear electric power although nuclear powers use small quantities of a rare isotope in bombs. The Zimbabwe deposits are in the form of uranium-vanadium ore at the Kanyemba prospects. [passage omitted]

Interuran, who are working with a Japanese statal authority, Power Reactor and Nuclear Fuel Development Corporation, is now developing a uranium and vanadium extraction technique called salt-roasting.

This will involve roasting the uranium-vanadium ore in temperatures of up to 850 degrees Celsius when vanadium becomes soluble and can be leached using water, while the remaining uranium can be recovered using smaller quantities of sulphuric acid, most of which is imported into Zimbabwe.

Salt and soda are added to the ore while it is being heated and this technique will be linked to the development of a salt plant in Botswana.

Exploitation of the Kanyemba prospect would mean an economic boom for this remote part of the Zambezi Valley. Mr Rheiner said the project would lead to the



development of infrastructure in the depressed area and the employment of at least 300 people, most of them locals.

However, this would only be possible if world market prices for uranium swung upwards or Interuran successfully developed the cheaper production technique. [passage omitted]

"The euphoria (over the discovery of uranium in the Zambezi Valley) has dissipated because of events of the last few months. We are now waiting to see what further developments take place," Mr Rheiner said.

However, he said despite the difficulties ahead, he was optimistic that things would soon change for the better and the Kanyemba prospect would be exploited. This optimism was reflected by the fact that Interuran was going ahead with its plans which included further prospecting for the mineral.

The mineral has been found in depths of up to 250 cm under the Karoo sandstones of the Zambezi Valley. These are sedimentary deposits laid down by water at least 200 million years ago.

## Guinea-Bissau

### President Vieira Announces New Austerity Measures

AB1304105890 Paris AFP in French 1559 GMT  
12 Apr 90

[Text] Bissau, 12 Apr (AFP)—Joao Bernardo Vieira, the Guinea-Bissau head of state, has announced new austerity measures for his country, an official communique published at the end of a cabinet meeting, disclosed. From now on, the government will reduce ministerial missions sent abroad and ban the use of administrative vehicles outside working hours. The appointment of civil servants will be subject to special authorization, and all taxes collected by the various administrative services will be tightly controlled by the Ministry of Economy and Finance, the communique further said.

These measures follow recent talks in Washington between the Bissau authorities and officials of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

## Ivory Coast

### Minister Comments on BBC's Succession Report

AB1304123490 Abidjan Domestic Service in French  
0700 GMT 13 Apr 90

[Text] Ivorian mayors have been holding consultations since yesterday. Speaking at the opening session of the general assembly of the Union of Ivorian Cities and Municipalities, Uvivo, Defense Minister Jean Konan Banny, the mayor of Yamoussoukro and current Uvivo chairman, called on his colleagues to be more vigilant in the face of the various destabilization campaigns initiated against our country. Under President Houphouet-Boigny's leadership, he said, Ivory Coast has been pursuing an unprecedented democratic experiment within a single-party system. He also lashed out against the deceitful campaign launched by foreign media:

[Begin Konan Banny recording] Foreign media organizations have seized on events in our country and given them their own interpretations. Yesterday, we heard a radio, usually described as credible, namely the BBC—we must name it—say that there is a vacancy in power in Ivory Coast; that Houphouet has no longer been ruling the country for a long time; and that Speaker Konan Bedie has been invested with the powers of head of state and that he has been given 19 days to hold elections. On what basis can one tell such lies? No provision of the Constitution allows for elections within 19 days; there is nothing to justify that there is vacancy in power.

This is a strategy aimed at destabilizing our country through lies. I am mentioning this to you, fellow mayors, because I deem it essential for all of us, who are in charge of our municipalities, to be truly aware of our responsibilities, to understand the ongoing maneuvers, and to recall that any time a leader of a developing country has risen up against oppression, injustice, and the exploitation of his people, plots have been hatched against him, and these plots have ruined his country.

Let those who read great books recognize that very often, on the African Continent, they have dug graves for democracy, because it is on the basis of their demands and their initial protests that successive coups d'etat have taken place in the subregion. Let us look around us and we will realize that the events have consistently followed the same order: Students protest; teachers—champions of great democratic principles—follow suit and join in the protest, calling for democracy. But then, a different form of regime comes in power, and teachers and intellectuals are the first to decamp to become political exiles, writing and vociferating against the violation of human rights, but unable to return to their own countries. So let us beware. Let us ensure that in defending ideals—undoubtedly noble ones—we do not become the instruments of those who want to prolong our state of bondage. Let us beware. We know what we have, but we do not yet know what we stand to lose, and we certainly do not yet know what we will get in exchange.

Ladies and gentlemen, dear colleagues, in view of the gravity of the situation and the dangers looming ahead, I would, therefore, like us to return to our respective municipalities to make our masses aware of the fact that the bone of contention now is not the 30,000 or 50,000 CFA [African Financial Community] francs that might be deducted from salaries, nor the four to 10-percent salary reductions. What is really at stake is the survival of our regime and our party. We should know that the persons who are now claiming to represent the hopes of the people are digging graves for these people. Conscious of this, we should together commit ourselves to firmly defending both the party and the nation, and its leader, Felix Houphouet-Boigny, to whom I think we, as mayors, should pay a solemn tribute at the opening of our deliberations. I thank you. [applause] [end recording]

That was Yamoussoukro Mayor Jean Konan Banny speaking at the opening of the sixth Uvivo general assembly, which was presided over by Interior Minister Leon Konan Koffi. Speaking on that occasion, Mr. Konan Koffi reiterated his appeal to Ivorian mayors to soberly reflect on all possible means that municipalities can use to contribute to the success of the imperative economic recovery measures.

## Nigeria

### \* 1990 Budget To Benefit From Foreign Assistance

90AF0014A Paris JEUNE AFRIQUE ECONOMIE  
in French Feb 90 p 59

[Article by H.Z.: "Financial Support Guaranteed"; first paragraph is JEUNE AFRIQUE ECONOMIE lead]

[Text] A budget deficit, a tense social situation, and a poorly timed cabinet reshuffling—but giants are not allowed to fall.

Only one thing and one thing only was retained by Nigerians from President Ibrahim Babangida's traditional 1 January message: for the fifth year in a row, they will have to tighten their belts. Austerity and rigor remain, undeniably, the watchwords of economic policy in Lagos.

A combination of inflation and increased export revenues will fatten the 1990 budget significantly compared to the preceding one. Calculated in local currency, revenues will jump 47.7 percent: they will rise from 17.2 billion nairas in 1989 to 25.4 billion this year (7.5 nairas equals 1 dollar).

At the same time, federal expenditures are up 32 percent, coming to nearly 40 billion nairas, or over 5.3 billion dollars.

Thus, despite the limitations on expenditures and the sharp increase in oil revenues, the budget deficit will total 1.8 billion dollars in 1990.

The situation, however, does not really worry the Nigerian Government. The latter, which had predicted this financial gap since August of 1989, has already obtained full financing for its balance-of-payments deficit estimated at 4 billion dollars, through a combination of subsidies and international loans.

During the first quarter of 1989, Nigeria, in fact, landed 1.5 billion dollars from the Paris Club (government

creditors) and the London Club (lending banks), after getting the IMF's approval and a 584-billion line of credit, still unused.

Meeting in Paris last 8 November, the consultative group of Nigerian moneylenders granted 600 million dollars and the World Bank announced a contribution of 500 million dollars in the form of quickly disbursable loans.

If the future contributions of Japan and the Arab countries are figured in, the optimism of Nigerians before the prospect of these foreign subsidies is understandable. Especially as multiple debt reschedulings—the next one will take place in March at the Club of Paris—will enable Nigeria to halve its debt service, which will not exceed 2 billion dollars.

During his visit to Lagos last 28 December, the IMF general director Michel Camdessus reaffirmed his full support of economic recovery efforts, thus sealing the reconciliation between the two parties.

At the same time, General Babangida announced that the 1990 budget was part of a three-year development plan intended to shore up domestic self-sufficiency. Therefore, Nearly 19 billion dollars will be disbursed between now and 1992 to speed up agricultural development and industrial production. Other sectors, such as public transportation or the automobile assembly industry, are receiving indirect loans or subsidies to limit the problems of the financial market. A one-billion-dollar package will be allocated to supplying local [industry] with foreign currency. Since 1988, a very pronounced shortage of the latter has slowed the activity of several industrial sectors, where factories are running at less than 30-percent capacity.

The social situation remains tense, nonetheless. Cutbacks in subsidies, soaring oil-product prices and inflation, which reached 50 percent in 1989, feed popular discontent. The drastic limitation on imports—6 billion dollars planned in 1990 against 14.6 billion 10 years ago—foils renewed investment, which would make it possible to curb the worrying growth in unemployment.

### Projected Progress in Current Account (1988-1993)

(in millions of dollars)

	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993
Exports	7,056	7,247	7,064	7,403	8,246	9,574
Imports	4,700	4,900	5,175	5,375	5,700	6,800
Trade Balance	2,356	2,347	1,889	2,028	2,456	2,774
Invisibles (imports and exports) Balance	-2,966	-3,094	-3,274	-3,437	-3,623	-3,827
Net Transfers	-50	-50	100	125	125	150
Current Payments Balance	-660	-797	-1,285	-1,284	-952	-903

Source: The Economist Intelligence Unit, Nigeria to 1993.



Theoretically, President Ibrahim Babangida should have brought these questions up with his American partners and with representatives of the international financial community in Washington last 16 January. But reactions to the 29 December ministerial reshuffling—considered ill-timed by many observers because of upheavals in the military hierarchy and the risk of religious tensions—led him to cancel the visit.

Expected in Paris at the end of this month, the Nigerian head of state will have a new chance, despite the extent of the economic crisis, to reassure his foreign partners about the liberal orientations of his regime. That he will do by reminding them that the transfer of power to civilians is still set for 1 October 1992, on the eve of the European single market.

### Senegal

#### \* Eastern Bloc 'Points Way' to Multiparty System

34190078C Dakar FAGARU in French  
Dec 89 p 1

[Editorial by Yero De: "For a Multiparty Political Culture"]

[Text] In Eastern Europe the communist parties, one by one, are losing ground, with the exception of the CPSU [Communist Party of the Soviet Union], which holds the initiative for change in the USSR, despite the awakening of nationalism in that country.

The POUP (Polish United Workers Party) has been losing ground for a long time and is threatened with falling apart. It has just been narrowly saved from extinction by the tactical genius of General Jaruzelski and by the constraints of the Warsaw Pact. As a minority party in the government, it can hope, over several years or so, to regain its strength among the people by struggling against the restoration of capitalism everywhere, which is advocated by "Solidarity," the principal force in the government.

In Hungary, the communists decided at a party congress that the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party (PSOH-communist) is out and the Hungarian Socialist Party, which is social democratic in outlook, is in. However, there is no rush to join the new party, and there are divisions within its ranks. The communist party's adversaries are stronger, and "Hungary, the lost sheep, has returned to the fold," in the words of President George Bush.

In the German People's Republic (GPR), with the nightmare of massive emigration now over, the Socialist Unity Party (the SED-communist) is trying to deal with daily agitation by opposition forces after having replaced its leaders. The situation is very difficult with the Federal Republic of Germany bordering on it, West Berlin as a model of consumption facing it, and the problem of reunification or of German nationalism before it.

In Czechoslovakia the experience of the other countries has not helped the communist party (PCT), which has split under the repeated and well-coordinated assaults of the opposition. On all sides the masses of the people are calling for a "multiparty structure," "free elections," "the end of the leadership role of the communist party," and "respect for human rights." Their demands are being satisfied.

Why did the communist parties fail to take the initiative in a timely way to obtain all of these changes, which were required with the maturing of certain internal and external contradictions?

The concept of "the leadership role of the party" was dead a long time ago. Only a shadow of it still existed, that is, in its bureaucratic form: its legal status in the constitution of each of these countries. The term, "the leadership role of the party," is not a legal concept but rather pertains to the political and ideological struggle and the ability to meet the material, moral, cultural, and spiritual needs of the masses of the people. Neither does it involve an ideological choice or the historical, class legitimacy that the party claims.

The demonstrations (meetings, marches, and strikes) which are now overturning the communist parties in Eastern Europe remind us of this evidence. The fact that our own government-controlled media informs us on a daily basis of these events, that television shows us their extent every day, and the fighting spirit of the masses of the people in the struggle for change—this is certainly a part of the political and ideological struggle that the government and its masters are carrying on against Marxism in Senegal and in the world. However, at the same time "the alternative press" shows us that we have lessons to learn about democracy from what is going on in Eastern Europe. First, this "alternative press," so fond of "covering" the demonstrations carried on by opposition groups elsewhere, should make an effort to do the same thing with the legally established Senegalese parties and with democratic trade union groups. For example, never in the recent political history of our country have political demonstrations taken place that attracted as many people as the reception given to Doctor Wade and the meetings of the opposition alliance that followed it. Why have the Senegalese people not been informed of this? Is it out of fear of the snowball effect or because the "other press" is not free "to provide correct and reliable news"? In Eastern Europe, the professional journalists writing for the press are winning the battle of information. In our country, orders to the press and censorship are still in effect.

Furthermore, the government in our country prohibits and suppresses any opposition meeting. The communist parties of Eastern Europe still control the principal organs of the state (police, army, and the courts). However, they no longer use them against organizations that, in fact, are illegal in the eyes of the constitution and the laws of their country. The police are willing to accept this situation. The government leaders do not refuse to listen

to their students. They sit down around a table with all of their opponents and accept democratic reforms, which will lead specifically to free and even early elections, probably opening the door to the opposition's assuming power. In Poland there has been no fraud in the elections, and the opposition that, for its part, has agreed to compromises, is now governing in accordance with its program after winning a majority of the vote.

Finally, the Senegalese opposition as a whole could also profit from this tremendous experiment in Eastern Europe. In view of the attitude of ostracism of the opposition and authoritarianism displayed by the Socialist Party government and its rejection of change, the only effective solution is for all political forces to join together in forcing the leaders of the government to

accept the real and objective implementation of multiparty democracy. This includes the right to meet, to demonstrate, to express one's views, to compete in free and democratic elections, the right to a change in government, freedom of the press, the equality of political parties and citizens before the law, and the organization of strong public opinion, which has the right to consider and to criticize everything going on in the country. This kind of multiparty democracy is favorable ground for the activities of each of our parties and for the development of the country. We must have it. We can have it if we act together, as is being proved in Eastern Europe, with the political forces joining in a coalition to achieve effective unity of action. All of us must contribute to the emergence of a multiparty, political culture, which wants free and democratic elections to determine who is going to govern.

(one) must require their contractually-manufactured resources in coor-

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16 April 1990



